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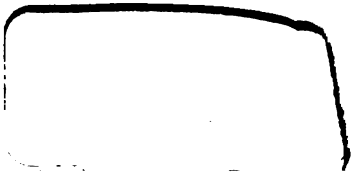

DESPATCHES AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

JOHN, SECOND EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

VOL. II.

The Despatches and Correspondence of John, Second Earl of Buckinghamshire, Ambassador to the Court of Catherine II. of Russia 1762–1765

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

ADELAIDE D'ARCY COLLYER

VOL. II.

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PREFACE

THE secret of the failure of the English Government in the years which followed upon the close of the Seven Years' War to form the Great Northern Confederacy, by which the Ministry of George Grenville, no less than that of Chatham, hoped to counteract the influence of the Family Compact, is to be found in connection with the history of the Secret Articles[1] which the Russian Government proposed in 1763 as an essential condition of an Anglo-Russian alliance. In the April of that year Catherine, who had hitherto refused to entertain the idea of any alliance, herself told the English Ambassador that she considered the Treaty with England to all intents and purposes concluded. But when, after repeated and vexatious delays, the conditions of that Treaty were revealed, they were found to be in many points unacceptable to the English Government, and this was specially the case with the two Secret Articles which provided that England should act in complete accord with Catherine's designs in Poland and Sweden, and in the case of the former country should furnish an ample subsidy in furtherance of those designs.

The despatches, therefore, which relate to the affairs of those countries are of importance, and they constitute the main interest of this volume. In truth in these years the fate not only of

[1] See Appendix, Note A, p. 291.

Poland but of Sweden hung in the balance, and the dissolution of the one seemed as possible as that of the other. Both were cursed with such poverty as made them dependent upon foreign subsidies, and with friends who perpetually asserted a generous determination to defend against all attacks the constitutions which doomed them to perpetual anarchy. The cant phrase with the politicians who desired to keep Sweden in impotence was that 'the constitution of 1720 must be respected,' and that the Crown must not be permitted to become absolute. With at least as genuine a devotion to the cause of justice as Frederic of Prussia and Catherine II. displayed when they vowed to maintain the liberties of Poland by preserving her *liberum veto*, Denmark and France were agreed that the King of Sweden should remain a cypher in his own kingdom, and that that kingdom should be ruled by an oligarchy [1] which habitually sold itself to the highest bidder.

When Sir John Goodricke left Copenhagen in April 1764 to take up his post as British Ambassador at Stockholm, the King of Denmark endeavoured to obtain some assurance that George III. would oppose any change which would give greater power to the Swedish Crown, 'lest the peace of the North should be disturbed.' Goodricke replied 'that he had no instructions.' His instructions indeed were not very definite, but he was to do his best to restore English influence in Sweden by uniting the parties which were in opposition to France, and for the moment this involved the support of the Crown. The necessities of the Queen of Sweden had driven her to become the stipendiary of the King of France; but in June 1764 she made a personal appeal to George III. for a sum of money which might enable her 'to break

[1] When a petition was presented to the Senate it was said to be presented to the King. When a point was decided by the Senate it was said to be decided by the King. 'Incredible abuses,' says Goodricke, 'have arisen from this manner of using the King's name.' See P.R.O. *Sweden*, vol. 129.

the insupportable dependence in which Sweden had been held for twenty-six years.'

'Reforms,' she wrote in a long and curious secret memorial[1] which throws a lurid light upon the history of Sweden in those years, 'reforms are urgently needed, but it is apparent that France will make those reforms turn only in favour of the Senate, of which she is absolutely mistress and which she can always corrupt. The King's situation, therefore, threatens to become worse, whilst that of the nation would be slavery, since the government would become purely aristocratical.'

It was evident also that Denmark would oppose every kind of reform which would tend to rehabilitate the Crown. Money, therefore, was urgently needed, in order that the Queen might counteract the corruptions of the two Powers at the impending Diet. And it would seem that Sir Robert Walpole's maxim that 'every man had his price' might be true also of nations in the eighteenth century. Ten thousand pounds had already been promised to the King and Queen on the part of the King of England, and Goodricke was now further empowered to expend certain sums among the Electors of the Diet 'in favour of the good cause,'[2] on the condition, however, that England should not be alone in this expenditure and that unless Russia was willing to contribute an equal share England should hold her hand.

The object of this strange system of bribery was to make Sweden an effective member of the Northern Confederacy, and this could only be secured in conjunction with Russia, which remained the centre of all these negotiations. The affairs of Sweden, therefore, became almost as much the concern of Lord Buckinghamshire as of Sir John Goodricke, and here at least the Ambassador to St. Petersburg considered that he had achieved a

[1] P.R.O. *Sweden*, vol. 128.

[2] See Sandwich to Goodricke, May 22, 1764 (P.R.O. *Sweden*, vol. 128), and November 6, 1764; also Goodricke to Sandwich, September 21, 1764 (vol. 129).

measure of success. The Swedish Diet Extraordinary, which met in January 1765, ended in a sort of rupture with France, and the treaty which in the following year was concluded between Great Britain and Sweden was a triumph—if a temporary one [1]—over French diplomacy, which was in part owing to the success with which Lord Buckinghamshire had negotiated the matter with the Russian Government.

In the matter of Poland it is somewhat curious to notice the lethargy with which the first aggressions of Catherine were viewed by the English Government. The affair of Courland, a very voluminous account of which is among Lord Buckinghamshire's papers,[2] passes with scarcely a comment, except of surprise that any resistance should be contemplated. The King of England declared himself prepared to act with Catherine. He asked only that her designs should be communicated to him.

English politicians were, in fact, on the whole agreed that England had no direct interest in Poland, and if in the next decade she was to pass by on the other side while Poland was dismembered, it was because she believed it to be her interest that the assailing Powers should be great enough to balance the power of France.[3] This is the explanation also of her indifference in these earlier years to the despotic action of Russia in Courland, since by the imposition of a Russian nominee upon that dependency of Poland, a member of the Saxon House which was so closely allied with the King of France would be excluded. But French influence

[1] In 1766 the French Government executed a complete *volte-face* in their Swedish policy. Becoming aware at last that Sweden, disunited and anarchic, was useless to them, they decided to support the Crown, and of this policy the *coup d'état* of Gustavus III. in 1772 was the direct result. (See Choiseul to Breteuil, April 22, 1766, Flassan, vi. 140–148.)

[2] See p. 62.

[3] See for this view *Annual Register*, vol. xv. p. 6.

was then so completely subordinated to that of Russia in Poland that nothing was to be gained by wasting money upon a foregone conclusion on a subsidised party which was already securely under the yoke of Catherine. When Prince Czartoryski, therefore, begged for the inevitable sum to be 'used in the service of Great Britain' it was refused as a preposterous demand,[1] while the condition in the first Secret Article of the proposed Anglo-Russian treaty, by which Catherine was herself to be subsidised in case the necessity arose for employing force in Poland, was rejected as 'utterly inadmissible.'

This refusal Lord Buckinghamshire believed to be the cause of the failure of the whole negotiation; and there is little doubt that the question of the subsidy was of some moment to the Russian Government, since the claim was renewed later when Panin was insisting upon the condition that a war with Turkey should be made a *casus fœderis*. Yet in the light of subsequent revelations, which were a sealed book to the English Ambassador, it seems evident that the unwillingness of Frederic of Prussia to admit England into his alliance with Russia, which, skilfully concealed at the time, has since been proved by his correspondence,[3] must have had its influence upon the councils of Catherine. However this may have been, it is clear that her understanding with Frederic in relation to Poland made her independent of any other ally, and thus a Northern Confederacy in which England was to have a part was not to be realised.

. . . . . .

These papers of the Earl of Buckinghamshire were found by Constance, Lady Lothian, in the great house of the Hobarts,

[1] See Wroughton to Halifax, March 5, 1763, and Halifax to Wroughton, April 5, 1763. P.R.O. *Poland*, vol. 110.

[2] See for this vol. i. p. 50.

[3] See p. 193.

which her life for the thirty years of her widowhood has consecrated in the hearts of hundreds with whom she loved to share its beauties. It holds now only the memory[1] of a presence of spiritual beauty, of a mind rich in a great intellectual and imaginative insight into the problems of humanity, of a heart filled with a profound and passionate sympathy with suffering and toil.

I cannot but desire that these volumes, which were due to her inception, should be linked by however slight a bond with her memory.

ADELAIDE D'ARCY COLLYER.

[1] She died at Blickling on October 10, 1901.

EXTRACTS FROM THE

DESPATCHES, CORRESPONDENCE, AND MEMORANDA

OF

JOHN, SECOND EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

DURING HIS EMBASSY TO ST. PETERSBURG

1763–1765

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Dispatch from Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: February 27, 1763.

The Senatus Consilium [1] which was summoned for to-morrow is put off eight days by reason of the impossibility of the King's attendance until the wound in his leg is quite healed, his health in all other respects being perfectly re-established. I have the pleasure of sending you a translation of the three points [2] on which the advice of the Senate is demanded, and upon which I cannot fathom the views of this Court; indeed, their enemies say it is doing them too much honour to suspect them of any. The two last propositions might easily be answered had they a well-disciplined army of 200,000 men, as in their present circumstances the demand seems to promise them more harm than good.

The enclosed printed paper [3] is a copy of a memorial which the Vice-Chancellor signed and delivered to Keyserling.[4] This minister returned it to him saying he desired and endeavoured to preserve the affection of his Sovereign for the Republic, and that this paper tended only to alienate it; that they might, if they

[1] See vol. i. p. 208. It was summoned expressly to rouse the nation on the question of the election to the Duchy of Courland, which was a fief of Poland.

[2] See p. 4. [3] See 'Pro Memoria,' p. 5.

[4] Hermann Karl, Graf von Keyserling (1695–1764), one of the many Germans in the service of Russia. He had been the confidant of Duke Biren of Courland during his regency of Russia. He was now Russian ambassador at Warsaw. At least as early as September 1762 Frederic of Prussia had approached him with an adroit bribe, and in December had sent the Baron de Korff as Private Secretary to the Legation at Warsaw with the special mission to engage Keyserling in his interests. Keyserling pointed out that in order to obtain the coveted alliance with Russia it was essential that Frederic should support the interests of Duke Biren and the objects of Russia in Courland and Poland, and Frederic had already (on February 3, 1763) given Keyserling a definite pledge on these important points. See *Polit. Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten*, xxii. 219, 220, 372, 419, 467, 504, &c. See also *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs: Russie*, ii. 227.

chose it, send it through their Minister, M. de Borck.[1] Upon this refusal they have printed and distributed it to the foreign ministers and the public.

The Great General of Lithuania has sent in aid to the Senators which are in Courland, by order of his Majesty, a company of dragoons, who are arrived at Mittau without molestation. The Prince[2] intends staying there till he knows the *résultat* of the Senatus Consilium. Our town is now very full by the arrival of several Senators who are come upon this convocation. Your Lordship may depend on being informed of what passes at this extraordinary meeting.

The peace has been celebrated here by a general thanksgiving and the *Te Deum* at the King's chapel. His Majesty's departure is talked of for the middle of April, but many circumstances may intervene to prevent it.

I shall be much obliged for an information of what passes at your Court, as the utmost seeming trifle is not only interesting to me but may be of service to the King for me to know.

Translation of the three points proposed to the consideration of the Senate:—

1. . . . His Majesty being under an indispensable necessity of visiting his hereditary dominions after the conclusion of the peace, is desirous of providing for the security of the kingdom, and although he is persuaded that there is no one who would trouble the tranquillity of it, yet he demands the advice of the Senate what measures are proper to be taken to maintain it in order and undisturbed.

2. The Count Jean Ernest de Biren[3] having intruded himself

[1] Jean de Borck, the informal envoy from the King of Poland sent to Catherine to represent the Polish view of the Courland question. See vol. i. p. 196.

[2] Charles Christian of Saxony, third son of the Elector Augustus III., King of Poland, was invested by his father with the Duchy of Courland, January 5, 1759, at the request, as he declared, of the States of the country. Catherine II. was now claiming the Duchy as of right belonging to John Ernest de Biren. See vol. i. p. 191.

[3] See vol. i. p. 12. Biren's first election to that Duchy was in 1737. In 1740 he was Regent of Russia for one month, on the death of the Czarina Anna. In 1741 he was exiled to Siberia, whence he returned on the accession of Peter III. in 1762. Though restored by Peter III. he took a part in the Revolution which overthrew him, and it is probable that Catherine's support of his claims to

into the Estates or Duchy of Courland, which, according to the Constitution of 1736, had been lawfully bestowed on Prince Charles, he demands of the Senate in what manner this fief must be recovered to the Republic agreeable to the aforesaid investiture.[1]

3. . . The Republic has suffered great damage by the passage and abode of foreign troops. He demands how a reparation must be obtained, how to prevent the like for the future, and also what measures are proper to be taken to make them quit the country and fiefs of the Republic.

[*Pro Memoria* (*Enclosure*).]

Il n'y a point de raisons à alléguer contre la force, mais aussi longtemps que sa Majesté Impériale fait déclarer qu'elle reconnaît les Duchés de Courlande et de Semgalle pour être un fief de la dépendance de la République et qu'elle avoue la souveraineté de S. M. le Roi sur ce fief, le ministère de S. M. et de la République ne doit point cesser de porter les plaintes contre les attentats des Russes en Courlande, qui sont entièrement contraires aux déclarations susdites de Sa M. Impériale, et qui attaquent essentiellement les droits et l'autorité du Roi et de la République.

Il est connu à S. E. M. l'ambassadeur, comte de Keyserling, par quelle raison S. M. a ordonné l'année 1741 [2] que les Duchés de Courlande et de Semgalle fussent administrés en son nom comme maître direct, et que cette administration exclusive d'un Duc a continué jusqu'à l'année 1758, sans que le Sénat ni la noblesse se soit plainte ni que la cour de Russie ait prétendu que cette disposition du Roi dût être autorisée de la République entière.

M^gr^ l'ambassadeur conviendra avec tout le monde que quand même il n'y aura point eu de nouvelle investiture donnée, cependant selon toutes les lois et les usages pratiqués dans tous les gouverne-

Courland was a recognition of his services. He had been sustained in his Duchy by Russian arms, and had employed them against his own nobility, as well as against the attempts of the Polish Government to interfere in the affairs of Courland. On his resumption of his dignity he once more relied upon their support, but his second reign was of a milder character, and in 1766 he resigned in favour of his son. He died at Mittau in 1772, at the age of 82. See *Recueil des Instructions*, &c., i. 335; *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, &c.

[1] See vol. i. p. 191, note 1.

[2] The year of Biren's fall and exile.

ments il aurait toujours fallu, pour faire cesser le gouvernement au nom immédiat de S. M. et pour en introduire un médiat au nom d'un Duc, que sa Majesté eût donné ses ordres.

Supposant encore que ces ordres ayent été demandés, par la même raison que la cour de Russie prétend que le Roi ne peut conférer l'investiture sans le concours des autres ordres de la République, elle doit convenir que S. M. n'a pas le pouvoir seul de réhabiliter quelqu'un au Duché, ce qui est une nouvelle création, comme de faire un gentilhomme. Par conséquent dans telle supposition que ce soit, le Ministère de la République se plaint avec justice :—

I. De l'introduction que M. de Simolin et le l^t^ colonel de Shröders ont donné, par la force des troupes russes, à Jean Ernest, comte de Biren, dans le Duché de Courlande contre l'autorité de S. M. et la République.

II. Que c'est par des troupes qu'ils ont forcé la bourgeoisie de Mittau de le reconnaître, et qu'ils ont tenté et tentent d'y forcer la noblesse par des menaces et mauvais traitements.

III. Qu'ils ont fait cesser toute administration par la voye de la force, ne cessant d'un autre côté de menacer MM. les Conseillers suprêmes et les autres officiers du Duché pour les obliger de manquer de fidélité et d'égards aux ordres de sa Majesté.

IV. Que M. de Simolin a autorisé par des circulaires menaçantes l'usurpation de Jean Ernest et une convocation de sa part d'un conventicule défendu par les lois.

V. Que conjointement avec M. le l^t^ col. de Shröders ils ont entrepris ouvertement d'empêcher tout acte de juridiction de la part du Roi même envers les sénateurs plénipotentiaires de S. M.

VI. Que ce dernier, accompagné de quelques soldats russes, a arraché des portes des églises et de la Maison de Ville le rescript de S. M., par lequel elle avait daigné faire connaître sa volonté aux états et aux habitants du Duché.

VII. Qu'il a mis la main sur un huissier ministériale du royaume —personne toujours sacrée, et sur un des gentilshommes qui l'avaient assisté pour insinuer une citation au gentilhomme Plettenberg, qu'il les a tenu aux arrêts pendant 30 heures où on leur avait pris le peu d'argent qu'ils avaient sur eux et les avait ensuite fait conduire par des soldats russes au delà des frontières de la Courlande avec menaces de les faire casser bras et jambes s'ils rentreraient.

Sur tous ces attentats si sensibles à l'honneur du Roi et de la République, le soussigné ministre se trouve obligé de prier S. E. M^gr l'Ambassadeur de voulour bien faire ses représentations à sa cour, et de procurer de la justice et equité de Sa Majesté Impériale, la satisfaction contre ces messieurs qui est dûe à l'honneur et à l'autorité de S. M. et la République; pour que d'ailleurs S. M. I soit convaincue que ce n'est que la seule force de ses troupes qui agît en Courlande en faveur du susdit Ernest Jean, comte de Biren, Elle est très instamment priée d'avoir la bonté de faire retirer ses troupes, et elle verra évidemment que ni la noblesse Courlandaise et encore moins la Polonaise et Lithuanienne ne prend aucun intérêt ni part à son rétablissement.

Varsovie: le 20 février 1763.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Mr. Mitchell.

Moscow: February 28 (N.S.), 1763.

It might be of great use to me if you would from time to time communicate such observations as you may make upon the King of Prussia's real disposition with regard to the Courts of London and Petersburg (I am informed his Prussian Majesty speaks loudly of his influence here), as also if ever you see any appearance of his entering into any connection with France either in regard to the affairs of Poland or with any other view. I have ever understood that his natural bias was to the Court of Versailles. George[1] desires his best compts. to you; he has got the *maladie du pays* and desires to return to England.

The Great Duke[2] is so well recovered as to appear at Court.

The Same to Lord Halifax.[3]

Moscow: February 28 (N.S.), 1763.

I had a conference on Saturday evening with the Chancellor,[4] who told me that as plans for four Treaties of Commerce had

[1] George Hobart, Lord Buckinghamshire's brother, who had acted as Secretary to his Embassy.

[2] Afterwards Paul I.

[3] George Montague Dunk, second Earl of Halifax (1716–1771), Secretary of State since October 1762.

[4] Michael Ilarionovitch Woronzow. See vol. i. p. 94, note 4.

been offered by the English, French, Dutch, and Swedes, it was the intention of her Imperial Majesty to appoint a Commission to examine them and to negotiate with the different ministers. I observed that this must occasion a very great delay. He answered that it was natural to think so, and that he had insinuated it to her Majesty, but that she told him she would take care everything should be gone through with all possible expedition, and that as to the English, till a new treaty was settled they remained in the full enjoyment of all the privileges of the old.[1] He further told me that he had lately, upon account of the very bad state of his health, intreated her Imperial Majesty's permission to resign his office, or if that was not agreeable to her that she would permit him to travel in foreign countries for two years, in hopes by that means to recover his constitution; that she had been graciously pleased to say that she did not choose he should quit her service, but had consented to the latter part of his request, in consequence of which he hoped to be able to set out in the month of August next.

Count Butterlin, who is married to a niece of the Chancellor's, is going in a few days to Spain as minister from this Court. It is said that he is instructed to negociate some commercial agreements between the two nations, that the Russians may carry on a trade directly to that country. I know not how far such a plan is likely to succeed, but her Imperial Majesty's unwearied attention to the interests of her people, and the thorough consideration she gives to every point of business, is greatly meritorious. I cannot, however, help thinking that the immense advantage the Russians reap from their commerce with England is so evident, and our new plan of treaty varies so little from the old, as to make so much precaution in that instance not absolutely necessary.

Count Bestucheff was so ill with the gravel on Saturday last that it was thought he was dying, but he is much better. No time is yet fixed for the Court's leaving Moscow. Petersburg is in every respect a more agreeable residence for foreigners, and more particularly as it makes the correspondence a great deal less tedious.

[*Cypher*] The Chancellor told me from the Empress that she was not yet prepared to give an answer to what I had mentioned in relation to the Treaty of Alliance, that she wished first to be

[1] That of 1734.

acquainted with his Majesty's sentiments upon the affairs of Poland. The Chancellor desired me to mention as from himself that which I gave only as a matter of opinion in my despatch of January 20, that nothing would tend so much to cement the friendship of the two nations as a thorough conformity of sentiments with regard to Poland, from whence it is natural to conclude that her Majesty has a view of making some provision by a secret article of the Treaty against any events which may happen in that country. He afterwards asked me if I had seen the article in the English newspapers which reflected upon her Imperial Majesty (mentioned in my dispatch of January 19), and hinted that it had made an impression upon the mind of the Empress not very favourable to the supposed author.[1] Before I left him he told me he would take all the measures in his power to hasten the consideration of the Treaty of Commerce.

The Vice-Chancellor[2] agrees with me that the views of the French in their commercial propositions are merely political.

The gentleman whom I mentioned in the former part of this dispatch as going minister to Spain possesses no great degree of abilities or information. He is a man of gallantry and pleasure, delighting much in the dress and manners of the French, and consequently partial to that nation.

P.S. Your Lordship will observe that though in the conversation I had with the ministers in relation to the Treaty of Alliance, they insinuated that her Imperial Majesty would probably wish to put off the consideration of it till the terms of peace between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin were known, yet in her answer she mentions nothing but a desire to wait till she knew his Majesty's thoughts upon the affairs of Poland.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: March 1, 1763.

[*Cypher*] With regard to Sweden,[3] the King will be informed of the true reason of the affront put upon his late Majesty's nomination of Sir John Goodricke to repair to that Court in quality of his minister, since the motive alledged for refusing to

[1] *I.e.* Frederic the Great. See vol. i. p. 201, note 2.
[2] Alexandre, Prince Galitzin.
[3] See vol. i. pp. 157, 213.

receive him, his having been at the Court of Prussia, was altogether looked upon here as a mere pretence. As to the renewing the correspondence with the said crown, the language which your Lordship should hold is that the King is, and always has been, well disposed to cultivate a good intelligence there, but that after the great cause of complaint given to his Majesty in the instance above mentioned it is impossible for his Majesty to make advances on his part. If Sweden wishes a reconciliation, any proofs she will give of such an inclination will be received and returned by the King with equal marks of a friendly disposition. His Majesty gave particular attention to what the Empress proposed in favour of the King of Poland's family, and it is his pleasure that your Lordship should assure the Russian ministers of his sincere good wishes towards that Prince and of his readiness to promote his interests upon any proper occasion, but the idea of secularisation is what the King had commanded me to give no encouragement to in other instances where he was more nearly concerned, and is a step of such consequence and example in the Empire as his Majesty can by no means promote, and your Lordship will likewise observe to them that the case with regard to his Polish Majesty's situation is entirely altered, since your receiving and transmitting the above proposal, as that Prince has now accepted the terms of peace offered by the King of Prussia, and the affairs of the Germanick body are finally adjusted and settled by the peace between all the powers who had a share in the late troubles, so that there can be neither room nor pretence for proposing so great an alteration in the present established system.—Your Lordship will have been already informed by my letter of the 11th past that the King had not determined anything particular with regard to the Polish succession, but waited to know what were the inclinations of her Imperial Majesty, who is so much more nearly concerned therein. I have laid before his Majesty the account which you now send of the private conversation which you had with the Empress upon that subject, and the answer I am commanded to return is, that the King is obliged to that Princess for the confidence which she is willing to repose in him, and will be very desirous of concurring in her views, when the vacancy of the throne of Poland shall exist, that the King is persuaded that she will have turned her thoughts to a proper successor, as she can so much better judge in whose hands that Government would be most conveniently lodged for the

interest of Russia, the consideration of which would be the chief inducement to the King to interfere at all events in that affair, and that therefore it is natural for his Majesty to expect to learn from the Empress herself what will be most agreeable to her.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Moscow: March 3 (N.S.), 1763.

M. Borck at his audience delivered two letters to her Imperial Majesty, one from the King of Poland, the other from Prince Charles of Saxony. It is inconceivable to me how the Court of Warsaw, after everything that has passed in relation to the affairs of Courland, could think of sending a minister upon a commission where there is not the most distant prospect of success.

[*Cypher*] Count Bestucheff is better; he sent me word yesterday that it was not as yet time to think of the Treaty of Alliance, but that the Treaty of Commerce was in a very good way, and promises to give me an opportunity of conversing with him either at his house or my own very soon. He also desired me to be cautious of what I sent by post, as there was a man at their office who could decypher any cypher. I cannot believe this to be true, as though the ministers have frequently been so unguarded as to give me reason to suspect that they had read my letters, I have never had the least reason to imagine that they had seen any part of what was in cypher. What M. Bestucheff mentions in relation to the Treaty of Alliance will not the least prevent me from pursuing the advances I have made to the Government upon that head. No day passes without my being asked if I have heard anything from England upon the affairs of Poland. The Chancellor (who dined with me yesterday) told me that by the estafette (which I hope has before this delivered to your Lordship my dispatch of the 28th) he had sent instructions to his nephew [1] to confer with his Majesty's Ministers upon that subject. As the King of Poland is said to be quite out of danger I cannot account for the extreme solicitude which they express for an immediate answer from England. I wish, however, that it was come.

[1] Simon Romanovitch Woronzow, the Russian ambassador in England.

The Same to the Same.

Moscow: March 7 (N.S.), 1763.

It is said here that Count Caunitz has desired the Empress Queen to permit him to retire from the Administration. M. Bestucheff was at Court yesterday, and seems perfectly recovered. This Court is very much dissatisfied with the answer the French have given to her Imperial Majesty's declaration of December 2 last.[1] The Chancellor assures me that the Imperial minister[2] still continues the same reserved behaviour, and denied to him the other day his having heard lately from his Court, though he knew to a certainty he had received letters a few days before. Since the first news of the signing the preliminaries the Imperial minister's behaviour has been remarkably cold to me, extremely different from what it was at my first arrival here.

The Same to the Same.

Moscow: March 14 (N.S.), 1763.

I saw the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor on Saturday, who acquainted me that the Empress had signified to them that she was so much engaged in business as to make it impossible for her to give a proper consideration to the Treaty of Commerce till after her return to Petersburg, and that she had directed them to communicate the same information to the French and Dutch ministers with regard to their propositions.

The best account I can by any means obtain of these repeated delays is that her Imperial Majesty's whole attention is taken up in the consideration of plans for promoting the commerce and manufactures of this kingdom. The exportation of the Ukraine tobacco to France is one great object, and the partisans of that nation spare no pains, and I believe no artifices, to persuade the Empress that it will soon rival ours. Every method is taken in the Ukraine to advance and improve the cultivation of it;[3] books of instruction are printed and distributed, a bounty promised to

[1] See vol. i. pp. 109, 110. This related to the claim made by the Sovereigns of Russia to the Imperial title.

[2] M. le Comte de Merci-Argenteau, ambassador from 1761 to 1764.

[3] See vol. i. p. 105, note 1.

those who produce such a quantity, and plants are sent for from England.

I had a conversation last week with a Frenchman who has been long established in this country, who told me he had formerly suffered greatly by exporting beef and tobacco from hence; that he would never attempt it again, as he was persuaded neither would answer; that as to the tobacco, it was not only the want of proper cultivation, but that the soil and climate would never produce any but of an inferior sort.

This was overheard, and consequently reported to those who gave him such good instructions, that three days after he told me, before the French minister, that he was of opinion that the Ukraine would not be inferior to the Virginia tobacco. Those who are acquainted with the Ukraine assure me that there is so much saltpetre in the soil as must ever greatly affect the quality of that plant.

I am also told that Her Imperial Majesty turns her thoughts very much to the increase of the Russian navigation, but the dislike of the people of this country to the sea, the scarcity of sailors, and even if they could procure a number, the impossibility of employing them half the year (which must unavoidably raise their wages to a most exorbitant height), will ever prevent any endeavours of that sort from being essentially effectual.

[*Cypher*] Uninformed nations, like ignorant men, are ever the most suspicious. The Russians imagine all foreigners, and more particularly the English (whose knowledge and abilities they have the highest opinion of in everything that relates to trade), have some hidden design in all the propositions they offer. Our frequent solicitations for the renewal of the Treaty of Commerce have consequently made them more cautious in the concluding of it. In this idea (were I to follow my own opinion) I should not mention a word of it to her Imperial Majesty's ministers till they themselves proposed entering upon the subject. I should be happy to receive his Majesty's commands to direct my conduct in this respect.

The Same to the Same.

Moscow: March 17 (N.S.), 1763.

I can say nothing new upon the subject of the two treaties mentioned, but am concerned not to be able to give some answer

to her Imperial Majesty in relation to the Polish succession, more particularly as she knew the date of the letter I wrote upon that subject, and will probably be informed by those who have opened this letter before it reached me that your Lordship acknowledges the receipt of it. There has been lately some fresh disturbance amongst the soldiers, but the particulars are kept very secret.

M. Borck has received a message from the Empress to acquaint him that she had forbid her Ministers having any further intercourse with him. He intends, however, to remain here till he has fresh orders from his Court, especially as he expects very soon to receive credential letters as envoy from the Republic of Poland.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Moscow: March 25, 1763.

By the behaviour and conversation of Count Solms[1] I am persuaded he has received instructions to take every method to convince her Imperial Majesty of the King of Prussia's friendship and good disposition towards her. There have been lately some reports here that a quarrel was upon the point of breaking out between this Court and Turkey, but the Ministry assure me there is not the least foundation for it. Let me rejoice with you upon the general peace and the particular advantages our country has acquired.

The Same to Lord Halifax.

[*Most secret.*] Moscow: March 16 (N.S.), 1763.

When I look back into my own correspondence, and consider the well-founded expectations his Majesty may have formed from thence that the treaty would soon be concluded, if not with all the alterations the Russia Company desire, yet (except the trade to Persia) with all the advantages of that of 1734, and perhaps some favourable additions, it gives me the greatest mortification to think that no progress has been made in it. I derive some satisfaction, however, from a thorough consciousness that I have never advanced a fact in which at the moment I was not founded, and that my correspondence has only varied with her Imperial Majesty's intentions and the language of her Ministers.

[1] Count Victor Friedrich Solms, Prussian ambassador at Petersburg since December 1762.

[*Cypher*] [It gives me some concern to mention that the interior of this Government is in great confusion. The Senate publishes resolutions one day which are reversed the next. There is not the same appearance of general satisfaction and cheerfulness which prevailed two months ago, and many even venture to hint their disapprobation of the measures of the Court. Had his Majesty, in consequence of my dispatch by Mann, given me any instructions empowering me to make presents to those persons mentioned, I should not at this time have availed myself of them except in relation to Count Orlow, to whom I could wish to make a compliment. If it was his Majesty's pleasure that a watch set with diamonds to the value of about five hundred pounds might be sent from England for that purpose, I fancy it would not have a bad effect. Her Imperial Majesty shows him every day fresh marks of distinction. Her partiality is indeed so decided as to offend those who think themselves from their rank, situation, and abilities better entitled to her favour. In the present state of things I do not think it necessary or expedient to put his Majesty to any further expense.

There is a private secretary of the Empress's whose name is Alsufiow,[1] who has superior abilities and more information than any man I have met with in the country; it was once intended that he should have been charged with the conduct of the negociation in respect to the treaty of commerce. Though that idea is now laid aside it may be very possibly renewed, in which case I should wish to be empowered to offer him 1,000*l.* upon the conclusion of the negociation, and even more if he can secure the two points of enabling the English merchants the liberty of selling to each other, and not totally excluding them from the trade with Persia. Enclosed are the papers relative to the captures made by the English privateers, which I did not send before, as I imagined Prince Galitzen had delivered the originals to Government when he was in England.[2] If his Majesty should think proper to allow of the demands of the Chancellor, it would be received as a favour, not as a matter of right. Your Lordship will observe that his own loss is stated separate.

[1] Adam Vassilievitch Alsufiow (or Olsufiow), 1721-1784, afterwards Secretary of State. See p. 16.

[2] See for these *P.R.O. Russia*, vol. lxxxiii. See also p. 26, note 1.

The foreign ministers seem all equally ignorant where to find the real Minister. Panin has the first sight, after the Empress, of all the foreign correspondence, which from him is carried to Bestucheff. They thwart each other and everybody else; they have each of them weight enough to keep her Imperial Majesty undecided, but neither of them sufficient to bring her to a determination. It is said that she has a better opinion of Bestucheff's abilities and information, but that she esteems Panin as the honester and more unbiassed man. The latter has been flattered into the French interest.]

I live upon good terms with the Prussian minister, who has never since the first instance given me any reason to complain of him. He is now continually celebrating the praises of her Imperial Majesty and the Empress Queen. As it has been lately reported that there was some uneasiness between this Court and the Porte, I asked the ministers on Thursday if there was any foundation for it. They assured me that the greatest cordiality subsisted between the two nations, and that the Turks had lately given way in a point of dispute with regard to the limits.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

Alsufiow is a man of an easy address and a polite scholar. Latin and most of the modern languages are familiar to him; a happy memory and a judicious taste place his conversation in the strongest light and make it appear more extensive than perhaps it might be found upon a nice examination. The table is his first passion, women the second, affluence sufficient lavishly to indulge them, his third. Ambition brings up the rear. When pressed his application is infinite, but, as his rage for pleasures is too decided for him not to force his constitution to the last possibility of enjoyment, already gouty, corpulent, and unwieldy, it is not to be expected that he can long maintain any degree of activity or consequence.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Saturday, March 26, 1763.

What the King of Prussia's disposition may be with respect to the Courts of London and Petersburg I have of late had no oppor-

tunity of knowing, having been so many months separated from him, but I am sure it is his interest to endeavour to be well with both. As to his Prussian Majesty's speaking loud of his Majesty's influence at the Court of Russia, I have never heard a single word of it, but I know he has insinuated to the Russian minister here that he was ready to support Duke Biren in the affair of Courland when that was necessary, and I have not yet discovered any appearance on the part of the King of Prussia of entering into connections with the Court of France. It is, perhaps, needless to inform your Lordship that Count Solms, the Prussian minister at your Court, is very weak and in judgment injudicious.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: April 5, 1763.

I have received almost together your Excellency's several dispatches of February 14, 17, 21, 23, 24, and 28, and have laid them all before the King [*Cypher*], who was not a little disappointed at that change of language which you take notice of with respect to the renewal of our commercial treaty, and so much the more as [1] M. Woronzow has assured me that the Empress's intentions are perfectly favourable, and seemed, I imagined, greatly surprised at those delays in dispatching that affair which your Lordship complains of. As the King has received very credible information that a treaty concluded in June last year between the Emperor Peter the Third and the King of Prussia was renewed in November or December by the present Empress, I must desire your Lordship to inquire into that affair, that his Majesty may know the truth of it, and likewise to acquaint me upon what foot you apprehend the Court of Petersburg and Berlin to be at present, as there seems to be a very particular intimacy between them. The King still continues in expectation of hearing from your Lordship . . . particulars of the Empress's intention and desire with regard to the vacancy which is apprehended to be near at hand of the crown of Poland, and in the meantime has ordered me to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed copy in cypher of what I write by the post to his Majesty's Resident at

[1] Cypher defective.

Warsaw, the substance of which your Lordship may please to communicate by word of mouth to the Russian ministers.

[*Enclosure.*]

Instructions sent to Mr. Wroughton.

April 5, 1763

[*Cypher*] As the King of Poland's health seems by all our accounts to be in a very precarious state, and the Empress of Russia is very pressing for the King's concurrence with her in what relates to the succession to the throne, though his Majesty cannot authorise you to enter into full and perfect concert with the Russian minister in promoting the particular views of that Princess with regard to an object of so great consequence, till they are more fully opened and explained to him than they have hitherto been, yet you may acquaint M. Keyserling in the meantime that the King has commanded you to cultivate the strictest friendship with him, and to act upon every occasion in such a manner as may give evidence to the public of the intimacy which subsists between your two Courts, and, with regard to the object of a successor to the Polish crown, that your present instructions are to join with him when the case shall exist in declaring in favour of a free election, and that you are promised further directions for your conduct as soon as a more particular knowledge of his Mistress's sentiments shall have enabled his Majesty to give them to you, who, in the meantime, hopes and is persuaded that they will be such as he may readily and heartily concur in. I think I hardly need hint to you with how much circumspection and delicacy it will be necessary for you to conduct yourself in these matters during the life of his present Polish Majesty.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Moscow: April 7 (N.S.), 1763.

I received on Monday night your Lordship's dispatch of March 1, and the evening following I mentioned to the Empress that I had something to communicate to her from his Majesty, in consequence of what she has been pleased to say to me relative to the affairs of Poland, but wished to know if she would permit me

then to enter into the particulars or would give me some other opportunity. She answered that she would fix a more convenient time, but desired me to give her in general an idea of his Majesty's disposition. I told her that I believed it was just such as she could wish. Whenever she gives me an opportunity of speaking to her I will make every use of the King's attention to her wishes in this and in every instance as an argument to obtain the objects of his instructions.

The Same to the Same.

Most secret.] Moscow: April 10 (N.S.), 1763.

It has been signified to Count Borck that it is her Imperial Majesty's pleasure that he should quit Moscow in eight-and-forty hours. I shall defer saying any more upon that transaction till I know the particulars authentically. It is said that one of the bishops has wrote a most disrespectful letter to her Imperial Majesty, but as his brethren think him in the wrong, and desire to punish him, though she would have forgiven him, in all probability no bad consequences can arise from it. I am obliged still to detain the courier, as the Empress has not as yet given me that opportunity of speaking to her which she promised. I took the liberty of reminding her of it yesterday. She told me she had not forgot me, but had been lately too much hurried to find a proper opportunity.

H. Grenville to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Constantinople: April 11 (N.S.), 1763.

. . . . I congratulate your Lordship on the re-establishment of peace, so generally and so universally diffused through all Europe, and which even we, in this unchristian part of it, shall not quite be without feeling the advantage and comfort of. Society already begins to be established upon a freer footing; no longer restraint amongst foreign ministers, but a general harmony and a reciprocal intercourse of visits prevailing amongst them, which is no immaterial article to us, in a country like this, where society (at least that of the polished kind) does not abound. I rejoice extremely with your Lordship in the satisfaction you express at the reception you met with from the Empress, and the promising prospect there is of stability and permanency to her Government,

the natural result of her people's love, and which she, by the concurrent testimony of all accounts, is so well and so justly entitled to. The Ottoman system here has long been a pacific one, and undisturbed by violent commotions of any kind; but what consequences the Prime Vizier's [1] death (which happened a few days ago) may occasion to this system is not easy to conjecture. He was a man of more than ordinary talents and abilities amongst them, and directed the affairs of this Empire with great policy and success in difficult conjunctures and very delicate times. Had his death happened sooner it might have given a very different complexion to the system of the late war in Germany. His successor is just named;[2] what his dispositions are time must show. If it should produce anything material enough for your Excellency's knowledge, and in any shape interesting to his Majesty's service, I shall not fail to give you the due and proper information of it.

With respect to ourselves, what shall I say? We enjoy here a very comfortable share of health, but, to say the truth, a very moderate share of pleasure. Certainly this is no country of delight and joy; fire and plague possess it merely, and for ever hang over our heads; and yet, in spite of all, we contrive to make our time pass if not lightly yet not heavily, and wait the destined period of our return without repining, which is no small point to accomplish in a situation like ours, and does no little honour to Mrs. Grenville's fortitude and strength of mind in a country like this, where to live, and not find oneself every hour of one's life encompassed with plague, becomes a wonder and prodigy of the time. Such are the glorys of the East and the blessings of this country.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Mr. Mitchell.

Moscow: April 15, 1763.

[I am very glad to hear there is no appearance of his Prussian Majesty renewing his French connections. His minister at this Court is certainly such as you represent him. The French minister, who is a very busy gentleman, has got his ear; but I believe he will no otherwise find his account in it than sifting a little intelligence from him.]

[1] Mehmed Rachib Pasha, *d.* April 8, 1763.

[2] Hamsa Hamid held the office from April to October 1763.

The Same to Lord Halifax.

[*Most secret.*] Moscow: April 15 (N.S.), 1768.

The Empress had flattered me with the hope that she would honour my house with her presence on Monday last, as she had done before at an entertainment of the same kind, but towards the end of the evening a brother of Count Orlow's informed me that a violent headache had prevented her coming. [*Cypher*] At the same time he acquainted me that if I would come to his brother's lodgings the afternoon following I should have an opportunity of seeing her Imp. Maj. Soon after I arrived there, she came into the room and Count Orlow retired to the further part of it. I then mentioned to her H.M.'s inclination to concur with her in the affairs of Poland as nearly as possible in the words of your Lordship's dispatch. She answered that, with regard to the fixing upon any particular person before a vacancy, I must know that such were the laws of Poland, that the least surmise of such an engagement would make his election impracticable. To which I said that it was very easy to keep any arrangement private that H.I.M. might settle with the King my master upon that subject. She then assured me that all she desired and all that she thought was necessary to be determined at present was that H.M. would join with her in giving an absolute exclusion to any French nomination.

I afterwards mentioned the renewal of the two treaties. Upon that of commerce she assured me she was fully sensible of the great advantage this country derived from the trade with England, but that she desired to be more mistress of the subject than she had leisure to make herself at this time before she concluded a negociation of so much importance. As to that of alliance, she said the entering into it might give the alarm to other Powers and make them jealous of what might be the objects of so near a connection, but that in fact, from knowing her own dispositions to England, as well as from being convinced of H.B. Majesty's to the interests of Russia, she considers the treaty as already concluded. Upon the whole I had the satisfaction of finding her behaviour to me in all appearance most gracious and confidential.

M. Borck, who set out on Monday, before he went away left a

note for all the foreign ministers, of which I send your Lordship a copy.[1] There is also a medal enclosed, which I would most humbly entreat his Majesty's permission to lay at his feet; it is not ill-executed, and has a strong likeness of her Imperial Majesty. All the foreign ministers have received a gold and silver one of different sizes, according to their several ranks.

The person with whom I had the conversation in relation to Sweden has left this country, but there is a channel through which I shall convey to him the purport of that part of your Lordship's dispatch which refers to the renewal of our correspondence with that country.

In your Lordship's dispatch of February 25 you mention that it is the King's pleasure that I should not enter into any pecuniary engagements without first acquainting him with it. I know too well the great expenses his Majesty is put to to be desirous of wantonly augmenting them, and therefore have hitherto avoided every step of that kind, though I understood my original instructions as absolutely discretionary in that respect. Perhaps if I was to consult my own feelings I should wish for the greatest restraint in points of that nature, yet should be sorry if his Majesty's service was to suffer by it. They have been long accustomed to a most lavish distribution of presents here, and therefore I should fear that possibly when hereafter the Treaty of Commerce, or any other point of consequence, is in agitation, the persons who have the immediate conduct of it may raise unnecessary delays unless they find it their interest to be expeditious. I may not very possibly know who those persons are till a few days before the negociation is entered upon, and such is the course of the correspondence that it would be three months before I could know if I might make any offer to them or not. I must, however, add that I believe things are so far altered in this reign that, if her Imperial Majesty approves of any measure, those she employs may delay it, but cannot prevent it. With regard to the

[1] The note set forth that M. de Borck had received a verbal insinuation in the name of H.I.M. to the effect that that Sovereign had seen by the result of the Senatus Concilium that the King of Poland was obstinate in the affair of Courland to the extent of wishing to force her to change her mind with respect to it, and that therefore M. de Borck was ordered to leave Moscow within forty-eight hours. M. de Borck, as a regularly appointed envoy from the King of Poland, protested against this.

Empress herself, by all accounts, and by putting every circumstance together, she must be very soon in want of money, and, as some time has elapsed since I left England, it would be a great satisfaction to me to have fresh instructions upon that head. I mentioned to the Ministers his Majesty's answer in relation to the interests of the House of Saxony, and from what passed I should imagine the affections of this Court to that family are greatly cooled.

Some of the bishops, and particularly the Archbishop of Moscow, have lately used their peasants with the greatest inhumanity, which they do not submit to with the same patience as formerly; and it is said that in some of the distant provinces they have put themselves upon the defensive.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Saturday, April 16, 1763.

[*Cypher*] The Prince Dolguruky, the Russian minister at this Court, told me that he had orders to return the Empress's thanks to the King of Prussia for the declaration in favour of the Duke of Courland by the Prussian resident at Warsaw. I am glad your Lordship thinks that from the conduct of Count Solms he must have received instructions to take every method to convince her Imperial Majesty of the King of Prussia's friendship and good disposition towards her. That prince's natural and true interest leads him to seek the friendship of the Court of Russia; had he thought so in the late Empress's life he might probably have prevented the greatest part of his misfortunes.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Moscow: April 18 (N.S.), 1763.

Great military preparations are making here, probably with a view to be prepared for every event. The officers all wish for a war with Poland, but I fancy that country does not find itself in a situation to come to an open rupture with Russia. The affair of Courland has certainly made a great deal of ill blood between this Court and the Crown party in Poland, but the nation at large is not, in all probability, disposed to make it a common cause.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Wednesday, April 20, 1763.

I hear the Prussians have at last purchased the whole of the Russian magazines in Poland and elsewhere for the sum of about one million six or seven hundred thousand Dutch guilders, to be paid at four different times within the space of one year. I am glad this affair is settled, as it has been for some months past a source of disputes and memorials between the two Courts.

[*Cypher*] His Prussian Majesty affects in public to distinguish Prince Dolguruki, the Russian minister at this Court, who I think behaves very sensible, and will no more be the dupe than his predecessor, Prince Repnin, who, if he talks to your Lordship with openness, will tell that he was not so much edified with the behaviour of the Sovereign nor of his ministers, though in appearance they parted very good friends. It is certainly the interest of the King of Prussia to be strongly connected with the Court of Russia, and I know he has thrown out to the Russian minister here his desire of entering into an alliance with the Empress. What may be her Imperial Majesty's sentiments with regard to that alliance I cannot venture to guess, and therefore must depend on what information your Lordship transmits to me upon that important point.

P.S.—Monsieur de Hertzberg,[1] who signed the Treaties of Hubertsburg, has lately been declared Minister and Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Affairs, and Count Finckenstein is promoted to be first in that department in the room of the late Count Podewels.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Moscow: April 25 (N.S.), 1763.

The Baron de Breteuil has received his letters of recall and proposes to leave Moscow in about ten days. I cannot help suspecting that it is greatly owing to the intrigues of the French that the Treaty of Commerce has not been already concluded,[2] not

[1] Ewald Friedrich von Hertzberg, 1726–1795, diplomatist and historian.

[2] M. de Breteuil had been unable, however, to conclude a treaty of commerce between France and Russia, which had been an object of his mission. See Flassan, *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. vi.

that I suppose that they have directly attempted to oppose it, but I hear every day of assertions propagated by their emissaries of the infinite advantages England derives from her trade with this country. Many of them are too ridiculous to make any impression upon persons of any information or even of common sense, and yet I am assured they have had an effect. Panin has the character of a well-intentioned, disinterested man, but his understanding is limited and his judgment weak; he certainly is governed (though possibly without perceiving it himself) by the French minister, who has industriously got possession of all those who surround him. Yet, my Lord, that which ultimately must determine upon everything is the disposition of her Imperial Majesty, and after having premised that I should hope not to be understood to be too sanguine in my judgment upon things of so delicate a nature, as that judgment must in some sort be founded upon conjecture, and pains may have been taken to mislead me, I think it my duty to mention that it appears to me that the Empress, as well from her inclination as from thinking it her real interest, wishes to form the most intimate connection with England and the House of Austria, that she had an original rooted aversion to the French nation and a personal pique and dislike to the King of Prussia, but yet is cautious of giving umbrage to either of those Powers, as she is fearful that their intrigues might essentially distress her in her present situation. Perhaps also she feels herself the more embarrassed from being sensible that at this time the Court of Vienna is governed by French councils, and from considering England as in some sort connected with the King of Prussia. I have no authority to assert this as fact, but it is an opinion which results from the best intelligence I receive from what I have gathered at different times from the conversation of the Ministry, and from that which has occasionally fallen from the Empress herself.

Adaduroff,[1] who has for some time been President of the College of Manufactures, is now appointed to superintend the affairs of commerce. I have at length got acquainted with him. He appears a reserved and diffident man; his character here is not equal to that which we heard of him in England. He is esteemed a man of application, but not of bright parts. I shall take pains to cultivate an intimacy with him, as I am satisfied he may be a

[1] See vol. i. p. 66.

very useful friend here, by the little I have seen of him. I think he rather tries to conceal than to make any parade of his abilities.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: April 29, 1763.

[*Cypher*] I am now to let you know that the King approves your proposal of presenting a watch set with diamonds of the value mentioned in your letter to Count Orlow, and has been pleased to give orders for providing one accordingly. His Majesty at the same time authorises you to present M. Alsufiow with 1,000*l.* in return for the assistance which your Lordship shall receive from him in procuring a renewal of the commercial Treaty with the improvements to the advantage of the King's subjects, and particularly in those two articles which you represent as most material. With regard to the Chancellor, upon the same condition of his forwarding the success of our negociation the King is willing that you should give him the 2,000*l.* proposed by way of compensation for the losses alleged to have been sustained by him in the capture of the *Christine Elizabeth*,[1] but in that case his Majesty will expect to be no more troubled with these applications for redress of losses pretended to have been suffered from English privateers during the war.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Moscow: May 5 (N.S.), 1763.

I was with the great Chancellor on Tuesday in the afternoon, and acquainted him with the instructions which had been sent to Mr. Wroughton.[2] He expressed great satisfaction at this fresh mark of his Majesty's friendship to her Imperial Majesty, and promised to communicate immediately to her the information I had given him. He added that he hoped this might induce the Empress to explain more fully her future views in relation to the

[1] Some of the alleged damages date so far back as 1746. The losses consisted in rich furniture and china, Gobelin tapestry, and velvet clothes from Paris. These were inventoried. See *R.O. Russia*, vol. lxxxiii. May 1758.

[2] See p. 18. Instructions of April 5, 1763.

succession of Poland, which he assured me to the best of his knowledge nobody was as yet informed of.

It appears evident to me that he is absolutely a stranger to the conversation I lately had with her Imperial Majesty.

I have remarked, for about two months past, the Prussian minister has been more distinguished at Court than he was upon his first arrival; from other circumstances I also should believe that the Empress is less dissatisfied than she has been with the King of Prussia (possibly from his late declaration in relation to the affair of Courland[1]), but I have every reason to assure your Lordship that the treaty you mention has not only never been renewed since the Empress's accession, but the Chancellor most solemnly assures me that it has never been mentioned.

The report, however, which has reached England has been industriously propagated in many parts of Europe, and gained so much credit at Vienna that some little time ago a sort of remonstrance came from thence to this Court upon the subject. No person here has ever had the least suspicion that any negociation of that nature was in agitation.

The King of Prussia's having marched so many men into the neighbourhood of Thorn has greatly alarmed the Crown party in Poland.

I am sorry not to hear of any overtures having as yet been made from the Court of Vienna to his Majesty to renew the former correspondence. The great appearance of the continuation of the same intimate connection between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon seems to be a very serious consideration.

[1] On February 15, 1763, Frederic sent Catherine a copy of the Peace of Hubertsburg, and approached her for the first time on the subject of Poland, pointing out that his interests in the succession and those of Russia were the same. See *Politische Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten^*, xxii. 524. To this Catherine replied on the 21st, 'Dans le cas de la vacance du trône de Pologne je consentirai aisément, comme votre Majesté le souhaite, à l'exclusion de tout prince de la maison d'Autriche, pourvu qu'il plaise à V.M. d'en faire autant pour tout candidat soutenu par la France. Je suis parfaitement de l'avis de V. M J'aime mieux aussi que la couronne de Pologne tombe en partage à un Piaste, mais à un tel qui ne soit point au bord du tombeau et qui ne reçoive des gages d'aucune Puissance. . . . Selon les désirs de V. M. [ce projet] restera secret entre nous.' See vol. xxiii. p. 4.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: May 8, 1763.

The absence of our Court makes us enjoy at present a perfect tranquillity; the King left us fourteen days ago in perfect health, and I do not doubt but his journey, and the different life he will have at Dresden, will prevent any power for a long time of giving him a successor. His minister, Count Brühl, had a very dangerous illness, which even at his departure threatened to take him from us before his arrival in Saxony, but it is probable that the motion and an excellent natural constitution have reinstated him, as we have no news of any misfortune having befallen him.

Prince Charles[1] is expected here from Mittau to-morrow. I can assure you that it is some time since I have heard no mention made of that Duchy; the Polanders have been some time occupied in the establishment of a tribunal at Wilna, where the Court party seems to have carried it with a great superiority. At present the behaviour of the Prussians in Great Poland, where it is said they commit all kinds of disorders and excesses, has taken possession of the general conversation.

Lord Halifax to the Same.

St. James's: May 10, 1763.

I send your Excellency enclosed the copy of a petition to the King of Miss Anne Bramston, with her case annexed, which sets forth her complaint against Mr. Edward Fowell, and her just demand upon him for that satisfaction which was adjudged to her by the Court of King's Bench,[2] so fully that there is no occasion to enter into a repetition of the particulars of it here.

I transmit likewise herewith copies of the orders sent from his Majesty to Mr. Keith, both by the Earl of Bute and Mr. Grenville, for moving the Court of Russia to oblige the said Mr. Fowell to do justice to this injured lady. The execution of those

[1] Charles Christian of Saxony. See p. 4, note 2.

[2] This was an action for breach of promise, the lady having been persuaded to come out to Russia to be married. The question was how to get possession of 1,500*l.* damages which had been awarded her by the Court of King's Bench. See a letter of George Grenville, July 16, 1762, *Buckingham. Corresp.*, P.R.O.

orders has been hitherto deferred upon Mr. Fowell's repeated assurances that he would immediately settle the matter in an amicable manner by his agents here. But as those promises, the last of which are of many months' standing, have hitherto produced nothing, and the petitioner is very earnest in her request for obtaining that redress which his Majesty's application to the Court of Russia may be able to procure in her behalf, I am commanded to signify to your Excellency that you should proceed, without further delay, to put in execution the orders heretofore sent, and contained in the enclosed copies to Mr. Keith.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Moscow: May 11 (N.S.), 1763.

I was this morning with the Great Chancellor, who informed me that the purport of the dispatches which his Court sends by this courier to their minister in England, is to order him to express the Empress's sensibility of the fresh marks she has received of his Majesty's friendship in directing those instructions to be sent to Mr. Wroughton,[1] to assure him that she is desirous, as soon as ever the first hurry of her present situation is over, to take every step that may cement the friendship between the two nations, to declare that she had entered into no alliance with the King of Prussia, and that (though she wished to live upon good terms with that Prince) she should always consider her connection with England in the first place. He also told me that the courier was charged with cyphers for their minister.

As Mr. Mitchell mentions in a letter which I received yesterday that he knew his Prussian Majesty had hinted to the Russian minister his disposition to enter into an alliance with her Imperial Majesty, I asked the Great Chancellor if any such overtures had been made; he answered me that nothing of that nature had passed through his channel. I shall make it my business to find out whether such a proposal has really been made, and what was the answer.

It is said that her Imperial Majesty has been lately very much displeased with M. Panin, who has warmly objected in the Senate to some of her favourite plans. It is evident that she is greatly

[1] Of April 5, 1763.

embarrassed who to consult and confide in, and indeed it will be difficult for her to find a man in this country possessed of that comprehensive knowledge which is absolutely necessary for the first minister of a great nation. There is nothing here equal to what Bestucheff has been, but his health and abilities visibly decay.

P.S.—The Great Chancellor informed me that Lord Stormont was appointed his Majesty's minister to the Court of Vienna.

The Same to the Same.

Moscow: May 12 (N.S.), 1763.

The Great Chancellor renewed yesterday the conversation in relation to what he had suffered by the English privateers. I really believe the demands are just, and that his loss is not exaggerated, particularly with regard to some fine tapestry, which was quite spoiled. He certainly had some degree of merit in not making any clamour in the late Empress's reign upon that occasion, which I am assured he did not. He is deservedly esteemed a worthy man, and I believe is greatly cured of his partiality to the French interest.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Moscow: May 12, 1763.

I have received your letter of April 20, and in consequence of what you mention of [his Prussian Majesty having insinuated to the Russian minister at his Court that he was desirous of entering into an alliance with the Empress, I asked the Great Chancellor if he knew anything of such a proposal having been made; he assured me that nothing of that nature had come to his knowledge. Of this I believe you may be assured, that if such an offer was directly made to her Imperial Majesty [1] she civilly declined it. The ministers, however, all express her inclination to live upon good terms with him. In your next I could wish you to mention in general your opinion of Prince Repnin's [2] abilities; I have had very little opportunity of seeing him as yet.]

[1] Such an insinuation was made April 5, 1763. See Frederic to Catherine II. of that date, *Polit. Corresp.* vol. xxiii. It had probably not been absolutely declined, *ibid.* p. 34.

[2] Prince Nicolas Vassilievitch Repnin (1734–1801), Russian Ambassador Extraordinary in Poland.

The Same to Lord Halifax.

Moscow: May 16 (N.S.), 1763.

I cannot discover that the King of Prussia has made any proposals to this Court in relation to a treaty of alliance. I am assured that Count Orlow has quarrelled with several of those who have hitherto been always of the Empress's private parties. His influence increases daily. The French minister[1] is to leave this country this evening or to-morrow. He returns to Paris to settle his private affairs, and afterwards goes as ambassador to Sweden.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: May 20, 1763.

I have now to inform you that the assurances which you received from the Empress's own mouth of her inclination to cultivate the King's friendship were very acceptable and perfectly well received [*Cypher*], though your Lordship at the same time easily conceives that her Imperial Majesty's remaining cool as to concluding of the treaties proposed and the *défaites* she made use of for postponing those negociations were not at all edifying, but rather gave cause for suspecting some other motive to such a new language. With regard to the succession of Poland, there seems to be nothing in your relation of what fell from the Empress that can make any addition necessary to the instructions which you have already received upon that head, and, indeed, according to the present appearance of his Polish Majesty's state of health, that business does not appear to be extremely pressing.

When your Lordship receives my dispatch of the 29th past you will find yourself fully instructed upon the subject of gratifications to such as shall willingly entitle themselves to those marks of his Majesty's bounty. As to any object of a higher rank than those mentioned in the said letter, I cannot authorise your Lordship to give any encouragement, but shall not fail to send you the King's particular instructions in case of any special overture being made to you. I cannot conclude this letter without recommending to your Lordship to use your utmost endeavours in this critical conjecture of the affairs of your Court, as well as with

[1] M. le Comte de Breteuil. See vol. i. p. 78 *et seq.*

regard to its internal situation of affairs as to the foreign connections, to discover what negociations may be carrying on with the ministers of any other Powers, and particularly those of the Queen of Hungary, of France and Prussia, and to transmit to me for his Majesty's information full accounts of everything which may be worth his notice with regard to affairs of that kind, and to the interior state of the Russian Government, which is represented by some as being still unsettled.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Moscow: May 23 (N.S.), 1768.

Her Imperial Majesty sets out this morning on her pilgrimage to Rostoff. It is 180 wersts distant from Moscow, and she proposes walking ten wersts each day. All the foreign ministers who are still here took leave of her yesterday in the evening. The French minister, during the last seven days which he remained here, was so particularly distinguished by the Empress as to give occasion for great speculation.[1] It was very remarkable, and would have given me some concern if, after that private conversation which I had with her Majesty mentioned in my separate and secret dispatch of April 15, it were possible to suppose she would enter into engagements with any other Powers in preference to England. Count Orlow is understood to be now entirely in the French interest. I believe the last instructions the Baron de Breteuil received from his Court was to pay a very high price for his friendship. Some of the Russians, who in general are very cautious what they say upon political subjects, have hinted this to me. Your Lordship not having lately mentioned anything in relation to our present situation with regard to the House of Austria, I am ignorant with what degree of cordiality the correspondence between the two Courts has been renewed, but it is

[1] It appears that Catherine's 'attitude of benevolence and courtesy' towards M. de Breteuil was tempered by her knowledge of the action of French agents at Constantinople, Warsaw, and Stockholm, and that when she parted from him her last words were, 'Vous serez mon ennemi à Stockholm,' and when he protested, she added, 'Si votre ministère est tel que vous me le dépeignez sa franchise est une fausseté de plus.' See *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs: Russie*, ii. 218.

apparent that the Imperial Ambassador here has been entirely directed by the French minister.

His Majesty must certainly have been already informed that the Court of Denmark is greatly alarmed at that intimate connection which seems still to continue between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon; yet I cannot help mentioning it, as it is a circumstance communicated to me by those who must know it to be true.

The Prussian minister took me aside yesterday, and after telling me that he considered England and Prussia to be connected in such a degree as to make their interests the same, he expressed great uneasiness at the frequent opportunities the French minister had lately had of conversing with the Empress. He asked me if I was not alarmed at it, and fearful that a negociation of a triple alliance might be in agitation between France, Austria, and Russia, adding how very desirable he thought it was, that such a connection should be entered into between this country, England, and Prussia. I told him that I could not think at this time that his fears were well grounded. When we parted he said he would communicate any lights he received to me, and hoped I would act with the same degree of confidence to him.

In the evening at Court the Great Chancellor mentioned to me that he was afraid that the French minister's having been so much lately with her Imperial Majesty might give umbrage to the Court of England, but that he could assure me there was not the least reason for it, that the Empress, after Baron Breteuil had taken his audience of leave, considered him no longer in the light of a minister, and was desirous of making the last days he passed in Russia as agreeable to him as possible. I answered that I had too high an opinion of her Imperial Majesty's discernment, that I thought her too well acquainted with the true interests of her Empire to enter into any intimate connection with the Court of Versailles, more especially after those assurances so often renewed through his channel of her preferential regard to England. He told me that he believed the Empress would herself speak to me upon the subject, in which case he desired me to acquaint her with what he had said to me. She did not, however, give me the opportunity. I must believe these assurances to be sincere, yet cannot see without great concern that almost all those who compose the Empress's private party are in the French interest.

I am credibly informed that Count Bestucheff has lately drawn up a paper in the form of a petition to her Imperial Majesty entreating her to marry one of her subjects, as has formerly been the practice of the sovereigns of Russia. This he has signed himself, and has offered it to all the leading men. Some have followed his example; the Great Chancellor has declined it, and Panin and several others have absolutely refused to set their hands to it. In consequence of this opposition the proposition is dropped for the present; but it is imagined it will be renewed at Petersburg, and may have very serious consequences if urged too far. People of all ranks are displeased with the great favour shown to the Orlow family, and express their dissatisfaction much more freely than has been usual in this country. Count Bestucheff sent me a message a few days ago assuring me that he would immediately communicate to me any intelligence that could be of the least consequence to England. He seems at this juncture in great favour with the Empress. The Empress, in consequence of the late disputes between the Radzavil and Czartoryski families in relation to the election of judges to the Tribunal of Vilna, has caused a declaration to be sent to M. Prass, the Saxon minister, the purport of which is principally to express that her Imperial Majesty thinks herself obliged upon every occasion to support the liberties of the Republick of Poland, and to prevent the freedom of elections from being infringed, and therefore hopes the Court of Warsaw will not encourage any such violent proceedings for the future, lest she should find herself under a necessity of interfering. I leave Moscow on Thursday, but as we are not allowed post horses must expect to be at the least eleven days upon the road.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: May 24, 1763.

It being the King's intention that I should remain at Dresden in the place of Lord Stormont, who is nominated ambassador at Vienna, I set out for that town in four days' time, to which I beg your Lordship will be pleased to direct any commands or intelligence you may be pleased to favour me with.

I leave this country very tranquil at present. Prince Charles has left it this morning early, after a residence of eight days,

in which short time he has disobliged and made personal enemies of many of the most considerable people of the country, particularly of the family of Czartoryski, whom he received so very rudely that they did not think proper to return to him a second time. It is told me that his Royal Highness intends to establish himself here for the winter, after having passed some weeks in Saxony.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

[*Most secret.*] Moscow: May 26 (N.S.), 1763.

I called yesterday upon Count Bestucheff, and was agreeably surprised at my being admitted and finding him alone. In order to get the most information from him that I could I mentioned my opinion of the real dispositions of this Court to England, Austria, France, and Prussia nearly in the words of my dispatch to your Lordship of April 25 last. In general he agreed with me, but assured me that since his Prussian Majesty's behaviour in relation to the affairs of Courland, the Empress was very well satisfied with him, and he thought no object more essential to England, as well as Russia, than the preventing that Prince from uniting himself with the Court of Versailles. His plan seems to be a Quadruple Alliance between Austria, England, Prussia, and this country, or (as he cannot flatter himself that the Empress Queen would at present enter into such a connection) at least that there should be an union between the three last of those Powers.

He dwelt very much upon the ingratitude of the Court of Vienna to England.

He gave me to understand that her Imperial Majesty placed great confidence in him, that he should acquaint her with his having seen me, and that when we arrived at Petersburg I should find everything go on to my satisfaction. It was very difficult for me to understand him, as well from his not speaking French readily as from his voice.

I hope to receive his Majesty's instructions with regard to the disposition of some money, limited as to the sum, but I should wish discretionary as to the persons, otherwise such is the fluctuating state of men and things in Russia that very probably it would not be in my power to make any use of it.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Saturday, June 4, 1763.

I had a *communication* of the insinuation you mention[1] being made by the King of Prussia to the Russian minister at this Court, but am surprised the Great Chancellor should say he knew nothing of it; perhaps, as the insinuation was made in very general terms, her Imperial Majesty may choose that his Prussian Majesty should speak out more plainly, for I have not yet been able to learn that any instruction has been given to the Russian minister at this Court upon the said insinuation thrown out by the King of Prussia.

Your Lordship desires to know my opinion of Prince Repnin. I think him a man of parts, but wanting a little in point of discretion; his vanity leads him sometimes to take too open steps. [If] he was sincere in the conversation I had with him he seemed not to be the dupe of the King of Prussia nor of his Ministers, and, in short, to have no predilection for this Court. I shall be obliged to your Lordship if you can inform me of the character and dispositions of Prince Dolguruki[2] and M. Nabacow. Iwan Iwanovitz Shuwalow is expected here daily; and I hear the Princess d'Ashkow is likely to travel, and that the Great Chancellor, Woronzow, with his family, will be here in the month of August or September next. So many illustrious travellers from the same country, where revolutions are so common, occasion great speculation. I wish your Lordship could say something to explain to me the cause of these unexpected movements.

The Same to the Same.

Berlin: June 10, 1763.

P.S.—The Russian courier's departure having been delayed for some days, I have now to acquaint your Excellency that [*Cypher*] I have learnt from good authority that the Empress of Russia has sent an answer to the insinuation made by the King of February last, but in very general terms, viz. that so soon as

[1] See Lord Buckinghamshire to Mr. Mitchell, of May 12, 1763, p. 30.

[2] Prince Wladimir Dolguruki, appointed Russian ambassador to Berlin in succession to Prince Repnin, who left that Court in February 1763.

the internal affairs of their respective kingdoms were settled she was willing to enter into an alliance with him.[1]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: June 14 (N.S.), 1763.

Upon reconsidering his Majesty's instructions in relation to the sum of money to be allowed to the Chancellor in consideration of the loss he has sustained, I find myself embarrassed how to act, as your Lordship will recollect that in my dispatch of February 28 I mentioned that the Chancellor was by her Imperial Majesty's permission to leave this country some time in August next, and I am very much afraid that the Treaty of Commerce, though the negociation may be entered into, will not be concluded before that time. I am persuaded he will recommend to the Empress to agree to the propositions of England, but that will not, I think, authorise me to advance the money. I shall therefore, as soon as the Chancellor comes to Petersburg, acquaint him with my instructions, but wait till I have an answer from your Lordship (which I hope may come by the beginning of August) before I make the payment, except the Treaty's being concluded before that time, according to his Majesty's wishes, should authorise me to act otherwise.

The Empress's Treasury is absolutely exhausted; even the Admiralty Fund, which has ever been esteemed the most sacred, has been expended. I am very sorry to mention that there is some reason to fear that things are tending to confusion. The troops are marching towards Riga and the frontiers of Poland, to be ready, as is supposed, in case of any event in that country.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Petersburg: June 17 (N.S.), 1763.

[The Chancellor has the Empress's permission to travel for two years, but retains his office. The motives he assigns to his leaving this country are to recover his health and to re-establish his

[1] But see note to dispatch of May 5, p. 27. Frederic's reply of April 5 definitely proposed a treaty, based upon their community of interests in Poland. See vol. xxiii. p. 34 of *Polit. Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten*.

affairs. I hope the first object will be answered, but doubt the latter will not. Count Shuvalow's leaving his country cannot appear to you very extraordinary when you consider what a height he fell from upon the death of the late Empress,[1] surely it is rather more surprising that he did not immediately profit of the permission the late Emperor gave him to retire, rather than remain here, to find himself nothing in that country where he had so long been everything. It is said that there was an order sent after him to stop him, but that he got some intimation of it at Riga and escaped by a few hours. The Princess d'Ashkow by presuming too much upon the favour of her Imperial Majesty had lost it before I came into the country; since that her conduct has by no means been such as to efface any bad impressions her imprudence might have made. I have heard her mention a wish of seeing other countries, but imagine her leaving this would meet with many difficulties, nor, if I am well informed, would her husband's circumstances admit of such an expense.[2] This I give you as my opinion, but very possibly may be mistaken. Public affairs seem unsettled at present, and it is very true that many of the principal people seek pretences not to follow the Court to Petersburg, and I believe that some would not be sorry to visit other parts of Europe.] Baron Osten arrived here yesterday.

The Same to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: June 17 (N.S.), 1763.

I was assured yesterday, to my very great surprise, that her Imperial Majesty has signified to Bestucheff that he need not attend her to Petersburg. If this should prove true, great alterations must have happened in the short time which has elapsed since I saw him at Moscow.

Count Orlow's influence is said to increase daily. If at the return of the Empress he should seem firmly established in his

[1] See vol. i. p. 30.

[2] See vol. i. p. 99. 'Mme. d'Ashkow said to me one evening, "Pourquoi est-ce que mon mauvais sort m'a placée dans ce vaste cachot? Pourquoi suis-je obligée de ramper avec cette troupe de flatteurs également servils et faux? Que ne suis-je pas née Anglaise? J'adore la liberté et la fougue de cette nation."' From '*Russian Memoranda.*'

situation, no attention shall be wanting on my part to make him the friend of England. The uncertainty of everything and the sudden revolutions of favour here, make it very difficult for foreign ministers to keep well with this Court, and almost impossible for them to give satisfaction to their own.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: June 24 (N.S.), 1763.

Bestucheff's situation is still said to be problematical; however a house is taken for him, and I rather believe we shall see him here. If he is disgraced it will certainly be the effect of French influence. Should her Imperial Majesty enter into any negociation with the Courts of Versailles and Vienna, she will have given herself very great political latitude, as well with regard to the assurances given me by her ministers as to those I have personally received from herself.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: June 24, 1763.

In compliance with the earnest desire of the Empress that your Excellency's applications for forwarding the conclusion of the Treaties of Alliance and Commerce between Great Britain and Russia might be suspended during the short remainder of her Imperial Majesty's residence at Moscow, I have been silent upon that head for some posts; but, as this dispatch will, in all probability, find both the Court and your Excellency at Petersburg, I can no longer defer repeating and enforcing all the former instructions, which have been sent you thereupon, and letting you know, in order to the information of the Empress and her minister, with how much concern his Majesty has seen that in so long a time, and notwithstanding the most earnest representation on our part, nothing has been done in an affair so important towards the preservation of the peace of Europe, and to the naturally united interests of the two nations. It is much to be wished that those interests had been as clearly understood by the Court of Russia as by that of Great Britain, for, in that case, an union, so necessary to both, had been long since contracted. The delay of doing it has

weakened the credit of both Courts, and has taught other Powers, who have very different views from those of the King and Empress, to set on foot practices with certain States in Europe, whom, when their Majesties shall think proper to correspond politically with them upon a joint system, they will probably find embarrassed with connections into which they may have entered for want of a timely application on our part. The Crown of England looks to no alliance with so great desire as to that with Russia. She knows the consequence of it to both, as it respects each of them immediately, and the influence it must have upon such engagements, as they may judge necessary for them to contract with other Powers. As this is evidently the case, the King can by no means understand or relish the policy of Russia in deferring to close, immediately after the conclusion of the general peace, with the Defensive Alliance proposed by his Majesty, and hesitating to renew a Treaty of Commerce, in which their own interests are still more essentially concerned than those of Great Britain. On his own part his Majesty has certainly nothing to reproach himself with, having given every possible proof of his distinguished regard to the Empress, and of the sincerity of his intentions to cultivate her friendship, by showing the greatest attention to the desires of that Princess, as well in respect to a successor to the throne of Poland as upon every other occasion that has offered. It is now, therefore, time to put the inclinations and designs of your Court to the test, for we begin to be reflected on, both abroad and at home, as if our natural alliances were neglected. A strict union with Russia is deservedly considered as the first and best foundation. When this is once laid, we may proceed upon a wise and regular plan conformably to our joint interests and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe. Whilst we act in perfect concert and hold the same language we shall speak with dignity and weight to the several Courts with whom we may be concerned, and there can be no doubt of our being heard with attention. This will then be our situation; but, as things now stand, the kingdom of Great Britain and the Empire of Russia remain mere *capita mortua* in European politics; and it is highly unfortunate for both nations that they do so. We are, however, now arrived at that period when we were assured that everything should be settled, the Empress being without doubt before this time returned to Petersburg. It will be now, therefore, incumbent upon your

Excellency to exert yourself to the utmost in securing the effect of those promises, and especially since Count Woronzow declares in the strongest terms that the dispositions of his Court are hearty and sincere. The business is of too great consequence to bear any longer delay, and I must therefore in his Majesty's name insist with your Lordship that not one moment that can be employed in so material a negociation may be lost, and that you send me constant accounts from post to post, for the King's information, of every step which you shall take in it, and of all that shall pass between the Imperial Court and yourself upon the subject of both these capital transactions.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: June 28 (N.S.), 1763.

Your Lordship must already have traced in several of my letters the disagreeable, distracted situation of the affairs of this country, which, by all the accounts we have lately received from Moscow, is increased to a very great degree. The reports, however, are so contradictory, and consequently so little to be depended upon, that I will not attempt to send intelligence of so delicate a nature unless thoroughly authenticated, especially by this conveyance.

The foreign ministers supped with me last night. We were all questioning one another, each man doubtful of his own information, yet every one agreeing that we ought to be prepared for any event. It is generally said that a great number of persons have been taken up. Those battalions of the Guards who are at Moscow have been acquainted that it is the Empress's intention that for the present they should remain there. This exasperated them to the greatest degree, but they dare not show the whole of their resentment, as there is a body of near ten thousand men encamped in the neighbourhood of that capital.

The Princess d'Ashkow, who so much distinguished herself in the revolution last year, is ordered to accompany her husband to Riga, where his regiment is quartered. That lady's arrogant behaviour had in great measure lost the Empress's esteem even before my arrival at Moscow. Her spirit was too great either to try to appease her Mistress or to submit to her disgrace, and she has been suspected ever since of exciting and encouraging those

who were disaffected to the present Government. M. Panin will be very sensibly affected by her departure from Court, as she was his near relation and great favourite, but England has no great reason to lament it, as she was strongly in the interest of France. I cannot help feeling for her Imperial Majesty; her present distress must be very great, and at the best her future prospect a most melancholy one. She may err in the means she employs, but her intentions are certainly to promote the prosperity and happiness of this country. The people take every opportunity of expressing their regard for the Great Duke; his state of health is surprisingly mended.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: July 1, 1763.

Upon the subject of your Excellency's dispatch of May 23, which I received last Tuesday, and laid before the King, I take this first opportunity to acquaint you that [*Cypher*] the Empress's behaviour to M. Breteuil a few days before his departure from Moscow did not appear at all extraordinary or alarming to his Majesty, as it was very natural for her to desire that he should leave her Court with a favourable impression of her politeness and attention to the minister of so great a Crown, and as a contrary conduct on her part at this juncture might have given suspicion, which it was more prudent to avoid. For the rest, his Majesty's reliances [are] upon the sincerity of what was declared to your Excellency by the Empress herself in her private conversation with you. With regard to M. Orlow, you will, I doubt not, be very attentive to discover the truth of what you mention concerning him, and to watch his proceedings, that the King's intentioned favour may not be thrown away upon a person more disposed to thwart than to forward his Majesty's views. Your Lordship seems to have expected to receive some particulars from me in relation to our present situation with respect to the Court of Vienna, but if I have said nothing upon that head since my letter of December 10 last, the reason is that nothing has passed between the two Courts since that time, excepting a reciprocal nomination of members who are not yet set out. What may, therefore, be the present disposition of the Queen of Hungary

towards us, we have no other knowledge of than what arises from some vague and general professions of her ministers at other Courts, of her inclination to return to the old system of friendship with England, as to which his Majesty's own sentiments are the same as what I expressed to your Excellency in my letter above mentioned; but there is great reason to believe that the intimacy between the Austrian and Bourbon houses is cultivated as much as possible by France, and still continues. The King was pleased with seeing the friendship and communicative disposition in which the Prussian minister appeared to be towards you, and would have you encourage it by all marks of civility and proofs of confidence so far as you may do it without giving jealousy to that ministry where your Lordship resides. As to ideas which he threw out of a triple alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, your Lordship will treat it in such a manner as neither to declare directly in favour of such a proposition nor to give him reason to conclude that it would be rejected by his Majesty, and you will observe the same caution if you should be sounded upon that head by the Russian ministers, it being the King's desire to begin by laying the foundation of his future resolution in an alliance with the Empress pursuant to my dispatch of the 24th past by M. Woronzow's courier, after which the admission of his Prussian Majesty and any other Power, and the terms of it, will be a point of joint consideration.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: July 1 (N.S.), 1763.

Her Imperial Majesty arrived last night at 10 o'clock at Czarskoselo. The confusion seems to be over for the present. Count Bestucheff, notwithstanding the reports of his disgrace which were industriously propagated by those who wished it, is certainly to come to Petersburg, and it is supposed will have great, if not the greatest, weight with the Empress, but in this and in every article of speculative intelligence I transmit to your Lordship great allowance must be made for the hourly variation of the affairs of this country.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Monday, July 4, 1763.

The King of Prussia on the 22nd of last month returned from his Westphalian dominions to Potzdam, where he has remained ever since. He was met at Wesel by the French Academician M. d'Alembert, who followed him to Potzdam, where it is said he will pass some time before he returns to France. However this visit of M. d'Alembert to the King of Prussia has occasioned many speculations and given great jealousy to some of the philosophers here. They imagine that his Prussian Majesty intends to put him at the head of the Academy in the room of the late M. de Maupertuis, but I cannot persuade myself that M. d'Alembert will accept of any establishment in this country, after having refused a most noble, honourable, and lucrative employment which her Imperial Majesty had most generously offered him.

Nothing has happened here worth your Excellency's notice. M. de Breteuil passed at Berlin last week, but had not an opportunity of seeing the King of Prussia, though he applied to Count Finckenstein for that purpose. The answer the Count made him was that his master being retired to Sans-Souci in order to drink mineral waters, did not receive any company, but that if he, M. de Breteuil, stayed till his Prussian Majesty's return to Berlin he would then be very glad to see him. By a letter I have received from Saxony, I find they begin to suspect that her Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia have agreed to support the pretensions of the Czartoryski family in case of a vacancy of the Crown of Poland, and some even carry their suspicions so far as to think, that there is actually a treaty signed betwixt the two above mentioned Powers for the dividing of Poland between them. For my own part I know nothing of any such treaty, nor do I believe it exists, though it may be true that his Prussian Majesty has given general assurances to the Empress of Russia that he will second her views with regard to the succession to the Crown of Poland.

Lord Halifax to the Same.

St. James's: July 5, 1763.

[*Cypher*] The idea which Count Bestucheff started to you of a quadruple alliance has nothing in it but what is entirely conformable

to his Majesty's own notions and desire, who will be ready to contribute to the success of it on his part as much as possible; but this is a plan which will naturally require a good deal of time in adjusting the interests of so many Powers, so as to unite them together in one Treaty of Alliance for the mutual defence and preservation of the public peace. What appears to his Majesty not only the most pressing for the reciprocal advantage of Great Britain and Russia, but the most likely means also of promoting the success of M. Bestucheff's plan, is immediately concluding of the defensive and commercial treaties between the King and the Empress as a corner stone and foundation for such superstructures as shall be afterwards agreed to be erected thereupon, since when they are come themselves to a firm and settled agreement upon the principles of the mutual interest and the general good of Europe, it will be a much easier and conciser method to admit such other Powers into their alliance as they shall judge expedient, than to make them partners in their original negociation, which could not be avoided under such a negociation being drawn into great and inconvenient length. Your Lordship will represent his Majesty's sentiments accordingly to M. Bestucheff, and will cultivate his friendship as much as possible, in order to obtain his assistance in the execution of those orders which you will have received in my letter of the 1st inst. by Count Woronzow's courier. With regard to the discretionary power which you desire of gratifying such persons at that Court, as you may judge necessary towards the advancement of his Majesty's views, you will have received some directions upon that head in my dispatch of April 29, and I am now to add thereto that in case an opportunity's offering of carrying some essential point by well placed generosity to one or two persons besides those already allowed in my said dispatch, it is not the King's intention to restrain you absolutely to the objects of that letter; but his Majesty's pleasure is to leave you a latitude to extend his bounty somewhat further in cases that may arise, upon your own conviction of the certain utility of so doing, in which the King is fully persuaded that you will proceed with the greatest discretion and with all the economy that shall be consistent with the benefit and urgency of the service.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: July 8 (N.S.), 1763.

The Great Duke is expected this evening, and her Imperial Majesty is to make her publick entry to-morrow. The new Danish minister, Baron Osten, and the Spanish minister, the Vicomte d'Erraria, had their first audiences yesterday at Czarskoselo. The Comte d'Haxthausen and the Marquis d'Almodover at the same time took leave.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Petersburg: July 12 (N.S.), 1763.

[Prince Dolguruki has the character of a decent, sensible man, and I am assured he is much better informed than the generality of his countrymen.] Many people of the first distinction having asked the Empress's leave to visit their estates have not attended her Imperial Majesty to Petersburg, but some of them are expected here in the winter.

The Same to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: July 12 (N.S.), 1763.

Her Imperial Majesty made her public entry on Saturday evening. She arrived at the Summer Palace about 8 in the evening. The ambassadors and other foreign ministers were there to receive her. At night a firework was played off upon the River Neva.

Yesterday being the name day of the Great Duke there was a ball at Court, and the foreign ministers supped with the Empress.

Her Imperial Majesty takes most particular notice of M. Osten, which must rather be attributed to her former acquaintance with him when Great Duchess, and to his friendships in Poland,[1] than to any particular regard for his Court, as the late minister,

[1] Baron Adolf Siegfried von der Osten had been in the secret of the Grand Duchess's affair with Poniatowski—'an intriguer of the first order,' according to the Duc de Choiseul. See *Recueil des Instructions: Russie*, ii. 240.

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though a most sensible, decent man, was little distinguished by her.

The new minister from Spain is also most graciously received, which is the more remarkable as I never saw her speak to his predecessor, though a man of a much higher rank. This may arise either from her wish that his Court would encourage the Russian scheme of trading directly to Spain, or from considering him at present the minister of the House of Bourbon. It concerns me greatly to think myself obliged to mention that there is too much appearance of her Imperial Majesty's being greatly cooled in those good dispositions to England which have been so strongly asserted and so little proved since my residence here.

I have wrote a long letter to the Great Chancellor, recapitulating all the transactions I have had with his Court, expatiating not only upon the assurances but the evident proofs the Empress has received of his Majesty's inclination to cultivate her friendship, and the very inadequate returns which have as yet been made him; I thought it also proper to take notice of the pains which are constantly taken not only by French emissaries but also by many of the Russians to raise objections to the concluding of the Treaty of Commerce upon that plan which alone can make it an object to England. I sent this paper rather as a private letter to him than as a memorial, as it enabled me to express myself with more freedom, and in all probability her Imperial Majesty will be acquainted with the contents of it equally as if it had been drawn in the other shape.

We have a considerable body of troops in this city and the neighbourhood, but very few of the guards. I am assured it is intended to disperse that corps so much as to make it difficult for them to occasion any more revolutions. Count Bestucheff is come, but as yet I have not been able to see him.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: July 15 (N.S.), 1763.

The Chancellor is highly offended at the condition attached to the payment of his demand, and has peremptorily refused to accept it upon those terms.[1] His ill-humour upon this occasion has

[1] See Lord Halifax of April 29, 1763, p. 26.

probably induced him to send a very peevish answer to the letter I wrote to him mentioned in my dispatch.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: July 22, 1763.

The King having considered the query upon which your Lordship desired to be instructed, viz. whether, notwithstanding the probability of the Chancellor's being absent from Petersburg at the time of your negociating the treaties, you should still make him the present before ordered in compensation for his loss by an English privateer, his Majesty commands me to acquaint your Lordship that that circumstance does not make any alteration in his gracious intention in favour of that minister, it being his Majesty's pleasure that you should still give him the 2,000*l.*, as at first directed, though upon the same condition as was mentioned in my letter of April 29, that the King should be no more troubled with applications relative to captures supposed to have been made during the war. For the rest his Majesty will be contented to give M. Woronzow credit for his good intention and favourable assistance upon future occasions, if he be not present upon that wherein we may now have occasion for it.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: July 25 (N.S.), 1763.

The Chancellor, who dined yesterday with me, acquainted me by the Empress's order that she had given directions to have the old Treaty of Alliance drawn out for her consideration, and that she would appoint the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor to go through it with me article by article, to see what alterations may be necessary on either side. I have no instructions to offer any, and if they should make propositions of that nature the most expeditious method would be for the treaty in the shape they wish to have it, to be sent to England and submitted to his Majesty and with his approbation concluded there. I cannot, however, foresee any of those alterations, except it should be a reciprocal augmentation of the stipulated succours, or the making their war with Turkey, and consequently the defence of our colonies in America

or elsewhere (which was excepted in the former treaty), a *casus fœderis*.

It is desired that the transaction may be secret. The Chancellor assured me that however desirous he may be to go this summer into Italy he would very cheerfully put off his journey to forward the conclusion of it.

As soon as the Treaty of Alliance is gone through the Treaty of Commerce is to be entered upon.

I am credibly informed that, notwithstanding the report that Count Orlow was inclined to the French interest, if he has any political partiality it is for the House of Austria. I should think from appearances that if her Imperial Majesty has any negociations on foot it is with that Court, but this is only surmise.

Count Bestucheff desires me to lay him at his Majesty's feet, and assure him that he still retains his former disposition to cultivate the connection of Great Britain and Russia.

The Chancellor expressed a wish that, as Russia has no minister in Italy, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to order directions to be given to his ministers and consuls in that country to contribute what may be in their power to make his residence in that country agreeable to him.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: July 26 (N.S.), 1763.

In my letter of the 22nd by the estafette I mentioned in general what was imagined to be at this time Count Orlow's disposition. Upon the whole it appears to me that his Majesty's present will not be ill bestowed, especially as I cannot but think the Empress will be pleased at such a mark of favour being shown to one whom she is pleased so greatly to distinguish.

The Imperial ambassador is soon to leave this Court. His successor is not yet named; I cannot find that he is carrying on any negociation here. The Empress's behaviour to him may possibly have no other object than the attention she showed to the late French minister at the time of his departure, and, speaking of that gentleman, I cannot help remarking that, either from vanity or some political motive, he took the greatest pains to make the Court of England jealous of his influence here.

At the conference of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, on Saturday last, they mentioned that a fair copy of the old Treaty of Alliance in French and in Russ was preparing to be laid before the Empress, and that they hoped immediately to receive her directions; they also seemed to express a desire that the treaty should be concluded without the separate articles. The Vice-Chancellor mentioned that England might be of great use to Russia in a Turkish war. I agreed with him, but added that His Britannic Majesty would not probably enter into any engagements of that kind, as it must be the ruin of our Turky trade.

I was with the Chancellor again yesterday in the afternoon, and mentioned to him that by a letter which I had received the day before, my Court seemed desirous of not including any other Powers in the Treaty of Alliance, but that after it was concluded his Majesty and the Empress might consider of what further steps were necessary for their common security and the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe. The Chancellor then said he hoped we should sign in a few days. I answered that my instructions did not go so far, but that I was persuaded that if her Imperial Majesty did not propose alterations my Court could not agree to, as soon as the account was transmitted to England I should receive his Majesty's orders for that purpose.

On Saturday the Prussian minister wished me joy, as he said he had been informed that I was to sign very soon. I answered him that it was very true that hopes had been given me that this Court would very soon enter into the consideration of the renewal of the Treaty of Commerce. He explained to me he meant the conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance, to which I replied that I knew nothing of it. He then said that if the report was true it would give him pleasure, though he should have been sorry if Russia had entered into engagements with some other Powers, adding that he was glad that this country began to take part in the affairs of Europe. Here the conversation ended. I live upon very good terms as well with him as with the Imperial ambassador, but have not exchanged a word with the latter in relation to the affairs of our two Courts since the peace was concluded.

The Chancellor mentioned to me yesterday that he hoped everything would soon be prepared for going through with the Treaty of Commerce, but that possibly the Empress's absence at

Peterhoff might occasion some little delay. Your Lordship will be so good as to inform me if it is his Majesty's pleasure, supposing this Court should agree to conclude that treaty within the limits prescribed me, that I should immediately sign, or wait till it can receive his approbation. For every reason I should prefer the latter method, except that it will occasion two months' delay.

I have great reason to fear that this Court will never agree to the alteration in the fourth Article.[1] The merchants here are of that opinion, and many seem not in the least solicitous about it. The leading Russians are divided in relation to the leaving open the trade to Persia. Panin is warmly for it, as well as Count Münnich (the Veld Marshall's son); the Vice-Chancellor as warmly against it. The Chancellor tells me that himself and the Vice-Chancellor are to settle the treaty with me, and that the Empress has some thoughts of joining Count Münnich with them. He is a most amiable, sensible man, and lives upon a footing of great intimacy with me; but I am afraid that during his residence at Paris he imbibed some French prejudices.

I was with Count Bestucheff on Sunday. His memory and understanding seem greatly to fail him. He has been ill, and has consequently seen very little of the Empress since her return. He mentioned nothing to me of her intention to renew the Treaty of Alliance, from whence I must conclude that he is unacquainted with it, as otherwise I am convinced he would have taken to himself the merit of it.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: August 2 (N.S.), 1763.

The Empress passed all Saturday and Sunday at Cronstadt. On Sunday she went on board the *Pelegrine*, an English vessel in the Mediterranean trade, commanded by Mr. Flynn, formerly a lieutenant in his Majesty's navy. She is a new ship, and a very fine one of her burthen, and by the assistance of the other English vessels had near one hundred seamen on board, very clean and well dressed. Her Imperial Majesty seemed greatly pleased, and stayed

[1] This appears to refer to that part of the article which provided for the introduction into Russia of 'the manufacture or productions of the Asiatic provinces.'

half an hour on board, and accepted of some refreshments. At her departure she was saluted with twenty-one guns, the shrouds were manned, and the sailors gave her three cheers, which she ordered her boat's crew to stand up in the boat and return. Upon the whole she expressed great satisfaction. This account was given me by the consul, who was on board.

I am just returned from dining with the Chancellor. My object in going there was to find out without affectation if any further steps had been taken in relation to the Treaty of Alliance. He is just now setting out for Petershoff, and assures me he hopes to return with the Empress's determination upon that important point. The Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor both appear eager for the conclusion of it immediately, and seem to wish that his Majesty might be acquainted with the zeal they have expressed. They tell me the alterations they have made are such as I cannot possibly object to, and I believe will be very urgent with me to sign, which is a step I am not in the least authorised to take.

I must entreat the favour of your Lordship to lay me at his Majesty's feet, and to express my earnest request that he would be graciously pleased to recall me the next spring (if it should be his pleasure that I should remain here till that time), as my family affairs were left greatly unsettled at my departure from England. I flatter myself that before that time both the treaties will be concluded in some degree to his Majesty's satisfaction.

An English merchant has at my desire examined some of the Ukraine tobacco, which is going to France. He assures me that it is of a bad sort, ill-packed and already beginning to rot, so that before it reaches that country it will absolutely be good for nothing.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: August 5 (N.S.), 1763.

This Government has not ventured to put their plan of keeping the Guards at a distance from Petersburg in execution; one regiment arrived the day before yesterday, the others are expected immediately. We must hope that nothing disagreeable will

happen, but those troops cannot be ignorant that they are feared and suspected.

The eldest son[1] of the Duke of Courland came to this place a few days ago. He notified his arrival to me yesterday, as if he expected I should make him the first visit, which as his Majesty's ambassador I could not submit to, but have sent my secretary with a compliment to him.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: August 9 (N.S.), 1763.

The Empress has appointed Count Münnich one of the commissioners for settling the different Treaties of Commerce; the others are not as yet named. She is expected in town to-morrow, as the incessant rains have made her residence at Peterhoff very disagreeable. The Chancellor is preparing to set out in a few days upon his way to Italy, but is obliged to wait till her Imperial Majesty has settled the price she is to pay him for his house and furniture. He is to keep possession as long as he continues Chancellor, and then it is to be attached to the office. The house only is valued at 40,000*l.* The Swedish minister, Baron Posse, has had his audience of leave and is going away immediately.

I have just been with the Chancellor, who tells me the Empress has not as yet examined the plan for the Treaty of Alliance. I remonstrated (which is what I now have long been accustomed to) at this dilatory proceeding, more especially as from the contents of my dispatch sent by estafette, with the knowledge and approbation of this Court, his Majesty must be at this time in hourly expectation of receiving the Empress's determination, and insisted upon his taking the first opportunity of asking her from me how I was to account to my Court for this unexpected delay.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: August 16, 1763.

[*Cypher*] On Tuesday, the 9th of this month, I received your dispatch of the 8th and 12th of July, and Friday I received from

[1] Pierre, who was associated with his father, Ernest John, in 1769, succeeded him in 1772, and reigned as Duke of Courland till 1795.

your Lordship two other letters dated the 15th and 22nd of the same month. I am happy that I did not answer those of the former date before I sit down to answer those of the latter, for indeed, my Lord, notified as your letter to the Chancellor was to me, with his answer, attended likewise by letters from her Imperial Majesty to her minister here, I was in doubt how to address myself to you on so new but so important an occasion, and therefore desired his Majesty would permit me to defer my answer for a few days, in hopes of having a more full and satisfactory account from your Lordship. I must not, however, be silent to your Lordship of the surprise his Majesty expressed at the unguarded and indelicate manner in which you had proposed terms [1] to the Chancellor, which it was not possible for him to accept or even to keep secret without putting his honour and safety into your Lordship's custody. The favour his Majesty declared himself willing to show him with regard to the losses he has suffered by English privateers should have been delicately managed in private confidence. His offices to Great Britain towards a renewal of the treaties of alliance and commerce would have been equally good offices to his own Court, whose interest is equally concerned in them, and a proof of his Majesty's regard in consequence of such service to both Courts might with propriety have been the subject of your conversation, but a letter expressed in such terms as your Lordship's, his Majesty does not think could have been attended by any other effect than it was. The Empress has complained in the strongest terms of the insult put on her servant, and the Chancellor has as strongly expressed his resentment at an attack made on his honour. I am further to observe to your Lordship that in matters of such moment his Majesty would be better pleased if you would transmit copies of letters that may pass between your Lordship and the ministers of the Empress of Russia than to receive them from the hands of the ministers of that Court. A few days after this unpromising appearance your Excellency may easily imagine his Majesty was

[1] See for these terms Lord Halifax's despatches of April 29 and July 22, 1763. See also Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax of September 9. Those of the 8th and 12th here referred to are given in full so far as they relate to this transaction and leave it only to be inferred that Lord Buckinghamshire had committed the terms to writing which the English Government desired to make with Count Woronzow.

well pleased to find by your letter of July 22 that the Chancellor, who had dined with your Excellency that day, had acquainted your Lordship by the Empress's commands that she had ordered the old Treaty of Alliance to be drawn out for her consideration, and that she would appoint the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor to go through it with you article by article till clear. I have this day with great care perused the former Treaty of Alliance, as well as your Lordship's instructions. I find you are not authorised to propose any alterations, nor indeed do any appear necessary as far as I can answer on my own judgment. I observe, my Lord, that in your instructions you are directed to acquaint his Majesty what proposals shall be made on the proposed renewal of the Treaty of Alliance, in order to your receiving his Majesty's further instructions, which shall be transmitted to your Lordship without delay as soon as possible after the receipt of your Lordship's dispatch conveying the proposals of the Court of Russia. I cannot conceive that the Russians will propose that the war with the Ottoman Porte or any other of the Oriental Powers on their part, or that a war in America on ours, should make a *casus fœderis*. It is with great satisfaction I end my letter by acquainting your Lordship that Count Woronzow, who was with me at Mr. Grenville's in Buckinghamshire when he received his letters the day before yesterday from the Chancellor, expressed himself wholly satisfied, and declared to me the Chancellor's wishes that no further notice should be taken of what had passed between you.

P.S.—The King orders me to direct your Lordship to inform M. Bestucheff that it gives his Majesty great satisfaction to hear that he remains firmly attached to the joint interest of Great Britain and Russia, and your Lordship will likewise acquaint the Chancellor that the King will give directions to his ministers in Italy to do all they can to make his residence there agreeable to him.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: August 16 (N.S.), 1763.

The Empress having agreed to pay the Chancellor 217,000 roubles for his house and furniture, he proposes leaving this country the day after to-morrow. A declaration has been lately published to encourage foreigners to settle here.

H.I.M. mentioned to me on Sunday evening that I had no reason to be uneasy about the conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance, as it was a point she was absolutely determined upon, and that the draught was at that time upon her table, and she would give it an immediate consideration. I must therefore hope that it will not be many days before I am enabled to dispatch a courier.

The Imperial ambassador has very long conversations with the Empress and the Chancellor, and is also frequently at Bestucheff's. The Prussian minister is equally solicitous with me to find out if anything material is in agitation. As yet we have been able to discover nothing, but it is surmised than an application has been made to the Emperor to create Count Orlow a Prince of the Empire.

The Same to the Same.

[*Separate and most secret.*] Petersburg: August 22 (N.S.), 1768.

I cannot omit taking this opportunity of laying before his Majesty more fully than I have hitherto done the state of this Government. There is at present no minister, nor is there a prospect of any persons being placed in that situation. Every little department has a nominal head, but little is done in any of them. The persons concerned in the late disturbances did not avow any design against her Imperial Majesty; they professed that their object was only the removal of Count Orlow from that distinguished favour which he enjoys. He is considered so much an upstart even in this country, where there is little else, that all but his own family are his enemies, and none more inveterate than those who were engaged with him in the late revolution, and thought their pretensions superior to his. His being sent to fetch the Empress from Peterhoff—the circumstance from whence he is supposed to have derived his present greatness—was merely accidental. In the tumult at Moscow the Guards called for the Great Duke, expressing the fear that they thought his life was in danger, though they had very little reason for such a surmise, as her Imperial Majesty must be sensible that his life during his minority is her greatest security. He has certainly gained strength this summer, but, as his constitution is originally bad, there is very little chance, especially in this climate, of his lasting long. Whenever he approaches to the state of manhood it is more than probable that

his mother will have reason to be jealous of him, and that attempts may be made to place him upon the throne.

The reports in relation to the late Emperor Iwan are very contradictory. It is asserted by many that he is absolutely an idiot; others, on the contrary, declare that he appears deficient no otherwise than from the want of education, and that, conscious of his own situation, he politically conceals his abilities. All accounts agree that the second is a young man of lively parts.

I cannot find that the Empress suspects the Hetmans'[1] having any concern in the late tumult, though some of the persons who were leaders in it used to be almost constantly with him. I know, however, that he is extremely dissatisfied at the distinctions which are paid to the favourite. Such, indeed, is his influence that not only his brothers but the ladies they distinguish compose the Empress's private party. Countess Bruce seems to hold the first rank. She was in the Empress's confidence when she was Great Duchess at the time Count Poniatowski was here, and was supposed then to be connected with Prince Czartoryski, as she is now with Major-General Orlow. Towards the end of the reign of the Empress Elizabeth the Baron de Breteuil was always with this lady, and he latterly still retained enough of his former influence to command any political good services in her power.

The Empress's life is a mixture of trifling amusement and intense application to business, which, however, from the difficulties which are often industriously put in her way, as well as the variety of the schemes under consideration at once, has as yet produced nothing. Very numerous and extensive are her present plans, but greatly inadequate the means she is able to employ. A quantity of tobacco is to be raised, sufficient to supply the French market. The commerce with Spain and Italy is to be carried on immediately by Russ merchants; the navigation is to be increased, and manufactures of silk, cloth, lace, linen, china, &c., are to be brought to the greatest perfection; the government, the manners, and the very disposition of the nation to be altered, and all this to be undertaken at once in a country where every innovation is unpopular, with the assistance of ignorant, indigent, interested counsellors, an indolent people averse to manufactures and more averse to the sea, a mutinous army, and an exhausted treasury.

I asked the Chancellor if any person was named to act jointly

[1] Cyril Grigorievitch Rozoumowski. See vol. i. p. 68.

with the Vice-Chancellor in his absence. He answered that he believed it was her Imperial Majesty's intention to assist him herself.

Before I conclude I must mention a circumstance which tends to show what are the political tenets of this Princess. She lately mentioned to a gentleman who had formerly been very much in her confidence, 'You remember my old Latin maxim, "Divide et impera," and you see I put it in practice.'

I have heard nothing during the last fortnight of the Treaty of Commerce. The long delay of the entering into the consideration of it gives me the more uneasiness as I have reason to believe that every day fresh objections are started not only to the alterations the English desire, but even to those advantages they enjoyed by the old Treaty. The repeated attempts at an insurrection have frightened the Empress. She knows that the preference he showed to foreigners and foreign customs lost the late Emperor his crown. She is also sensible that one great objection to her is the being a foreigner, and therefore thinks herself obliged to yield as much as possible to the prejudices of the Russians, many of whom would contribute anything in their power to expel every stranger from this country. Nothing can be said with certainty till I have entered into the consideration of the Treaty with the Commissioners her Imperial Majesty shall appoint, yet I must express my fears that (if I may credit some hints given me within these two days) it will not fall to my lot, or even to that of the ministers who may succeed me, to conclude it upon terms agreeable to his Majesty's instructions and the wishes of the Russia Company.

I had a long conversation with Count Bestucheff on Sunday, and insinuated to him my suspicions that some negociation was carrying on with the Court of Vienna. He assured me that as yet nothing of that sort had been in the least agitated, and that whenever it was the proposal must come from thence, and not from the ministers of her Imperial Majesty. With regard to Prussia, he mentioned that he did not know that anything was upon the carpet, but he could not be sure that there was not, as possibly it might be carried on privately with the Empress through a channel which he was unacquainted with. By this he meant to make me suspect M. Panin, who is often visited by the Prussian minister, as they were acquainted in Sweden. I have, however, intelligence from the Office for Foreign Affairs

that the Treaty of 1746 with the Empress-Queen, which expires in 1771, and that of the last year between the late Emperor and the King of Prussia, have been looked into within these few days. The former is in print; I am trying to get a copy of the latter.

The Vice-Chancellor, whose rooted affection for the House of Austria has long been no secret, declared to me the same day that no negociation is carrying on with that Court. He added that the Empress-Queen had not as yet forgot the peace that had been made by the late Emperor with the King of Prussia, and afterwards acquiesced in by her Imperial Majesty. Upon my mentioning how much the schemes of Count Caunitz had changed the rational and long adopted political system of Europe, he took notice that his plan was a great and comprehensive one, and thoroughly calculated for the advantage of his Mistress, though unexpected misfortunes, and particularly the death of the Empress Elizabeth, rendered it abortive.

P.S.—The Chancellor had left this country before I received your Lordship's of the 22nd, but had he still been here I should have thought it advisable to withhold his Majesty's intended favour, as he some time ago, to my very great surprise, insinuated that he thought the other sufferers should be considered as well as himself. To which I answered him that if my Court complied with his demand it would be as a favour to him, not as a matter of right, and that I would not even mention any other claims.

The Same to the Same.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: August 22 (N.S.), 1768.

The plan for a Treaty of Alliance was at length delivered to me this afternoon, drawn up with such alterations as her Imperial Majesty proposes, together with two secret and one separate Article. The Vice-Chancellor, Alsufiow, and Count Strogonow, the Chancellor's son-in-law, were present when it was read to me. I imagined they would have given me the new propositions separate, till yesterday when the Vice-Chancellor sent for my titles.

It is a very sensible mortification to me to observe that every alteration is made in favour of this country, without the least reciprocity for England.

In the seventh Article they have made some additions to the

allowance of provisions, which they justified by telling me that the College of War had declared the soldier could not possibly subsist upon less. They have blended the fifteenth and sixteenth Articles[1] of the old treaty into one, and omitted the exception with regard to Turkey, to which I strongly objected and assured them I was persuaded my Court would not come into it.

There is also an alteration at the end of the eighteenth Article, which answers to the nineteenth of the old Treaty, which I took notice of as appearing to me a little equivocal.

By the twentieth the Treaty is only to last eight years, whereas the former was for fifteen. There are some other alterations from the wording of the old Treaty which your Lordship will take notice of.

When they read the first separate Article[2] I felt and expressed the greatest surprise, declaring that it appeared to me in effect making this a Treaty of subsidy, and that I hardly knew how to send such a proposition to his Majesty. They insinuated that His Britannic Majesty was equally interested with the Empress in the affairs of Poland, to which I by no means agreed, but insisted that it was nothing but his regard to her Imperial Majesty that could induce him to interfere in the broils of that country.

As to the second secret Article, I know not how far it may or may not be agreeable to his Majesty.

The separate Article is the most extraordinary of all, as it puts off the entering into the consideration of the Treaty of Commerce till the conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance, notwithstanding their repeated assurances that they would give it an immediate consideration.

Upon the whole, after having remonstrated with all the earnestness I could with propriety express against the apparent partiality with which all their new propositions had been made, I told them that, having received his Majesty's instructions to inform him

[1] By these articles of the Treaty of 1742 Great Britain was dispensed with from furnishing the stipulated succour in case of a Russian war with Turkey, Persia, the Tartars, or other Eastern nations, while the Russian troops were not to be sent anywhere out of Europe, or to Spain, Portugal, or Italy. For the history of this earlier treaty see the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. xiv. new series, p. 169.

[2] See for this and the second secret article proposed, Appendix, note A.

what alterations her Imperial Majesty would propose to make upon the renewal of the Treaty of Alliance, I would forward their papers in the shape they were pleased to offer them. What they said amounted to little more than that they were directed by the Empress to make these propositions, and that any his Britannic Majesty was pleased to offer would undoubtedly be properly attended to.

With regard to the separate Article, they told me that would not delay the Treaty of Commerce, which would notwithstanding be entered into as soon as the College of Commerce and the Commissioners were ready, and that in the interim the English merchants enjoyed all the privileges which were allowed them by that of 1734. I have so often complained of their delays that I could say nothing new upon the subject.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Tuesday, August 30, 1763.

His Prussian Majesty came to Berlin on the 23rd instant, when M. de Reidt,[1] the Imperial minister, had his first audience to deliver his credentials, and the next day the King of Prussia returned to Potzdam. M. d'Alembert, the French Academician, who has passed some months with his Prussian Majesty at Potzdam, set out for Paris two days ago. I am informed the King of Prussia made him a present to the value of 400*l.* in money, besides a gold snuff-box set with diamonds which contained his Prussian Majesty's picture. This is the same gentleman whom the Empress of Russia invited to take charge of the education of the Great Duke, her son; and, if the newspapers may be trusted, her Imperial Majesty wrote a very elegant letter to him. For my own private curiosity I should be glad to know if it be genuine. Upon M. d'Alembert's first coming into this country it was imagined the King of Prussia intended to put him at the head of the Academy, in the room of the late M. de Maupertuis; but I hear M. d'Alembert has no thoughts of leaving Paris.

The merchants and traders of this town have been greatly alarmed with the news of the bankruptcies at Amsterdam, Hamburg, and other places; nor is it yet known how far these failures

[1] Freiherr Joseph Heinrich Ried, from July 1763 to December 1764 Austrian ambassador at the Prussian Court.

may extend, which in the meantime occasion a total stagnation of all commerce, and have created a universal diffidence among the merchants and bankers. However only a few houses here have stopped payment, of which M. Gottskowsky is the chief. Your Lordship, in your letter to me of June 28, mentions the confusion of the affairs in Russia, and of many persons being taken into custody; but as your Lordship has said nothing further upon that subject in your subsequent letters, and as nothing has transpired from other quarters, I flatter myself these reports were without foundation. As I cannot, however, help fearing, considering the character and circumstance of the Russian nation, that conspiracies may still be formed to disturb the Government I should be glad to know your Lordship's opinion of the same, and of the measures her Imperial Majesty has taken to disappoint her enemies.

It is reported here that the Court of Russia have insisted upon three points with the Republic of Poland—first, that the Republic shall acknowledge Count Biren the Duke of Courland; secondly, that the Secretaries of State of the Republic concerned in drawing up the memorials [1] which had given offence to the Court of Russia shall be dismissed from their employments; thirdly, that Prince Czartoryski should be received into the Senate, and the non-compliance with these demands is given as a reason for the march of the Russian troops into Lithuania, others saying that the motions of the Russian troops are intended to influence the election of a new king which it is believed must soon happen.

I am entirely of your Lordship's opinion of the King of Prussia's having expressed a disposition to concur with the Court of Russia in the mystery of Poland, and I know he has corresponded directly with the Empress upon that subject without communicating his sentiments to her ministers here, and perhaps the Prussian minister at your Court is as little informed of this affair as you or I.

[1] These memorials, which state the grievances and the claims of the Republic and Royal Family of Poland in the matter of Courland, are among Lord Buckinghamshire's papers, but are too long to be inserted here.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: August 31 (N.S.), 1763.

I was a few days ago with M. Panin, who unexpectedly entered into conversation with me upon the Treaty of Alliance. He said he was glad it was under consideration, assured me that her Imperial Majesty set the highest value upon the friendship of the King of Great Britain, and that no one was more fully convinced of the common utility of the connection between England and Russia than himself. He added that he hoped that I would not consider that as a compliment which he spoke in the honesty and sincerity of his heart.

I expressed warmly the satisfaction I felt upon these declarations, and assured him of the satisfaction it would give me to agitate any point of negociation with him.

I then mentioned the objections my Court would naturally make to the plan of the Treaty of Alliance offered by the Empress, and complained of the most dilatory proceedings with respect to the Treaty of Commerce.

In his answer he laid his principal stress upon the defence of the proposition in relation to Poland, styling it a common cause. He hinted as if possibly he might be one of the persons to enter into the negociations for the Treaty of Commerce, and concluded with the usual apology for their delay, the numerous and intricate affairs relative to the interior of the country which were under consideration, adding that a great deal of business was done, though there was but very little appearance of it. The conversation upon the whole gave me pleasure, as from Bestucheff's declining abilities it is more than probable his weight will daily increase.

The Same to Sir Joseph Yorke.

August 31, 1763.

. . . Everything has lately been very quiet in this part of the world. There subsists, however, a spirit of envy and dissatisfaction which may produce disagreeable events at the moment they are the least expected. It is unnecessary for me to tell you of the very little progress which has hitherto been made in such negociations as I was charged with, yet I flatter myself that her Imperial Majesty considers the friendship and connection of England as

objects of that consequence to her which they really are, and have reason to hope that something will now soon be determined upon. Many disagreeable delays I have experienced, but some allowance must be made for the first year of a new reign, a distracted empire, and the particular situation of the Sovereign. There is no minister; Count Orlow is an all-powerful favourite, and Bestucheff and Panin are principally consulted by her Imperial Majesty upon foreign affairs. Bestucheff is very infirm, and his abilities visibly fail him. Panin has lately been a little in disgrace, but seems to be recovering the Empress's confidence. She at times applies very much to business herself. The French are greatly mistaken if they flatter themselves with the hopes of having any influence here.

Lord Halifax to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. James's: September 2, 1763.

His Majesty was very glad to see that the Empress's disposition towards an immediate conclusion of the treaties continued favourable; as to the signing them there, your Lordship did very prudent in declining it, since you have no full powers, but you may depend upon being provided with them as soon as his Majesty shall have seen the alteration proposed by the Empress, and the whole shall be agreed to. I am now to acquaint your Lordship that at the Empress's desire the King has been pleased to order Mr. Wroughton to repair to Warsaw, where he will live in such union and intelligence with M. Keyserling as may prove to all the world his Majesty's great regard to the Empress of Russia and his connection of councils with the Empress; your Lordship will see that this is, upon several accounts, a very delicate step in the present situation of affairs, and will accordingly avail yourself of it as such a mark of his fellowship and predilection as should engage her Imperial Majesty to open her views and intentions without reserve, and to unite herself so much sooner in the strictest of confederation with Great Britain.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: September 2 (N.S.), 1763.

On Wednesday two men-of-war of sixty guns were launched. Her Imperial Majesty and the whole Court were on board. All the

foreign ministers were invited, but, as I had a sore throat and the weather was unfavourable, I made my excuses.

I had yesterday some conversation with the Prussian minister. He expressed his fears of the effects that in time the influence of the Court of Vienna may have upon this Government, but confessed that at present he believed her Imperial Majesty was not adverse to entering into an alliance with the King his master.

Count Bestucheff is hardly ever well. Panin seems daily to reinstate himself in the Empress's favour. I should not be surprised to see him soon in the situation of First Minister, though it is insinuated that it is a burthen he would rather decline taking upon him. He is more universally well spoken of than any man in the country, and certainly has better abilities and more extensive information than the Great Chancellor, which indeed is not saying a great deal.

The Vice-Chancellor seems nothing but the channel through which the foreign ministers communicate the business of their different Courts to the Empress. He neither appears nor (indeed, I believe) wishes to be consulted.[1]

Her Imperial Majesty has been pleased most graciously to accept of two English horses, which she permitted me to send for from England, for her own riding. The Prince of Courland made me a visit some time ago, which I returned.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: September 6 (N.S.), 1763.

I saw the Vice-Chancellor yesterday, and have reason to believe from the conversation that he had not seen Count Woronzow's last dispatches from England. It is a very disagreeable circumstance to a minister who wishes to effect the objects of his own Court, or to penetrate the views of that where he resides, to have no free access to any but a person who has so little share in the confidence of his own sovereign.

The Empress's invitation to all foreigners to come into her country, which is translated into all languages and published all over Europe, will scarcely bring anything into Russia but the refuse and outcasts of other nations.

The Imperial ambassador is in constant agitation, but nobody

[1] See for this vol. i. p. 95, note.

can penetrate the object of it.[1] The French, Spaniards, and Austrians seem to act here as if their views and interests were the same.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Petersburg: September 6 (N.S.), 1763.

[I have reason to believe that something is in agitation between this Court and the King of Prussia, but cannot trace that it is in any degree of forwardness.[2] The Imperial ambassador is also very busy, and the Imperial and French ministers act in appearance entirely under his directions. The strict union of the families of Austria and Bourbon, which it was imagined could not long subsist after the conclusion of a peace, seems to gain strength daily. This is very alarming, and, I think, a melancholy consideration to all the other Powers of Europe, and calls upon them all to exert their best and earliest efforts to be prepared to make a resolute opposition to the designs of those enterprising and ambitious nations.]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: September 9 (N.S.), 1763.

There would be very little utility in my dwelling upon the sensible mortification I received from your Lordship's separate dispatch;[3] the concern I have felt for these last six weeks at my own imprudence and the very disagreeable consequences of it

[1] Solms also reported to his master that he suspected Bestucheff and Woronzow to be concerting negociations with Austria. See *Polit. Corr. Friedrich's des II^ten*, xxiii. 104.

[2] It appears from Frederic's correspondence that Catherine had at last written (on July 9), in answer to Frederic's proposal of an alliance (of April 5), that 'she would see further proposals for it with great satisfaction.' On August 6 these more definite proposals were sent. They were for a defensive alliance with a mutual guarantee of both States, a promise of auxiliary troops, or in the case of an attack upon Frederic's Rhenish provinces, or in the case of troubles upon the Persian and Tartar frontiers of Russia, a subsidy instead of troops. Frederic left to the Empress to make her own stipulation with regard to Poland, but proposed an article relating to commerce. He warned her at the same time that the French and Saxons were misrepresenting the affair of Courland to the Turks, and that it would be necessary to counteract their influence, if she wished to be able 'to give a king to Poland.' See *Polit. Corr. F. II^ten*, xxiii. 5, 76.

[3] See Lord Halifax's of August 16, p. 54.

could not have easily received any addition; during the whole of that time I have been exposed to the reproaches of self-conviction, the worst of all reproaches to a feeling mind.

Caution of what is trusted to paper is so known and necessary a rule in private, and greatly more in public, transactions that it were vain to attempt to excuse any indiscretion; let me, however, be permitted to offer some little in mitigation of it.

I had heard so many reports circulated tending to prejudice this Government against the English traders that I wished in some degree to prevent their effect, to use every means which could contribute to hasten the conclusion of the Treaty of Commerce. I had called upon the Chancellor eight times in ten days and had never seen him; hurried and mortified, I wrote that unfortunate letter which I cannot help thinking he has made a most ungenerous use of.

Your Lordship must consider that the affair in question had always been transacted privately between us; that he seemed to wish to make me, and indeed to consider me, as his friend in it; that there was no reason to suppose that man so particularly scrupulous who in the first instance gave up the claims of his fellow subjects and fellow sufferers in order to secure his own.

Further, my Lord, upon my expostulating with him for his conduct (not apologising to him for my own) he assured me that the transaction should never be mentioned, and surely the increasing civility and attention with which he and his family behaved to me during the time he remained at Petersburg, and his having sent me three most polite messages since he has been upon the road, seem to prove he did not think he had such great reason to complain.

The word 'favourable' is what he principally objects to in his letter, by which I did not mean to express 'partial,' and I am sure that unless the Treaty is concluded upon what the Russians style very favourable terms his Majesty's subjects will avail themselves but very little of it.

In my conversation yesterday with the Vice-Chancellor I mentioned to him how very new and unexpected the proposition of making any disputes between this country and Turkey a *casus fœderis* would appear to England.

That point I should think they would give up; but as to the

contingent engagements in relation to Poland, probably they will be more strongly insisted upon.

It is proper to take notice of what seem to me the reasons of their constant delays in relation to the Treaty of Commerce. The Empress in these early days of her reign, together with the particular circumstances which attend her, thinks popularity the best basis of her Government, and in that she is often obliged against her better judgment to sacrifice the real advantages of the Russians to their prejudices. I would therefore hope that she delays the consideration of that Treaty and leaves the English in possession of the old, till she finds herself in a situation better able to withstand the clamours of her ill-advised, uninformed subjects.

It must be a very unpleasant task to your Lordship to find me advancing upon the authority of this Administration one week what they authorise me to contradict the next, and you will certainly make some allowance for the many anxious moments of the minister who is the channel of such correspondence, and who can have no wish but to merit his Majesty's approbation, though at present he has a most melancholy prospect of success.

I was yesterday with Count Bestucheff. He solemnly assured me that to his certain knowledge his Court had not taken the least step towards contracting any engagements with the Austrians. He repeated what I had mentioned before, that he could not be equally certain in relation to the King of Prussia, though he knew nothing of it.

He lamented the connection of the families of Austria and Bourbon, and agreed with me how fatal the consequences of it might be to the rest of Europe, which I painted to him as strongly as possible.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: September 13 (N.S.), 1763.

I was yesterday with the Vice-Chancellor; our conversation turned principally upon the future Treaty of Alliance, and he recommended to me to try as much as possible to dispose my Court to acquiesce in the alterations proposed by them, alleging that England, from her present situation, was much more likely to be engaged in a war than this country. I answered that those alterations were so partial that I imagined my Court could never give in to them. The Vice-Chancellor in a former conversation

had mentioned that the omission which makes their war with Turkey a *casus fœderis* was not suggested by him, and seemed not to insist much upon it, but yesterday he was pleased to urge it very strongly. I wait with great impatience for his Majesty's instructions, as till it is known that I have received them anything I offer will be little attended to. I took notice to him of the surprise your Lordship expressed in your last letter at my having hinted that probably the proposal in relation to Turkey might come from hence.

They have sent some propositions to Poland (I am unacquainted with the particulars) and seem sanguine in their expectations that the Republic will acquiesce in them. I told the Vice-Chancellor that as his Britannic Majesty had entered so cordially into the views of the Empress in relation to Poland, he certainly had a right to expect the earliest communications of any arrangements that were settled; to which he agreed, but told me Count Keyserling had not as yet sent them the Republic's answer. In a letter I yesterday received from Mr. Mitchell he informed me that the King of Prussia corresponded privately with the Empress. This I mentioned to the Vice-Chancellor as a fact I had reason to believe was true. He seemed at first embarrassed, but recovering himself told me that possibly it might be so, as the King of Prussia would sometimes write to other princes unknown even to his own ministers at their Courts, and it was very certain that his Prussian Majesty sought the alliance of the Empress as well as that she was desirous of living in friendship with him, but added he was persuaded she would take no engagements till the Treaty with England was finally settled.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Petersburg: September 13 (N.S.), 1763.

[You may be assured it will always be a pleasure to me to communicate to you any information in my power. The reason of my not sending you any particulars in relation to the disturbance which happened at Moscow a few days before the Empress left that city was my supposing that they must be generally known at your Court. The pretence alleged for the conspiracy was the removal of Count Orlow, but when once tumult is on foot those even who raised it can seldom absolutely direct it. The discovery

was accidentally made a few hours before the time fixed for its being put in execution by an officer of my acquaintance. The Empress was absent upon a pilgrimage, and M. Panin was called out of bed at one o'clock in the morning. The ringleaders have been sent away, amongst which was a general officer, major of the Guards, who had received particular favours from the Empress and married a year ago one of the maids of honour. . . . I am persuaded your information is just, that the King of Prussia has wrote privately to the Empress. He seeks her alliance and she wishes to live in peace with him, so that it probably will not be very long before something is settled between them.] The letter of the Empress to M. d'Alembert is genuine; some expressions only are altered for the worse.

[P.S.—I should be obliged to you if you would let me know in your next his Prussian Majesty's present dispositions to England.]

The Same to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: September 16 (N.S.), 1763.

The foreign ministers received a note a few days ago to acquaint them that her Imperial Majesty confirmed a former declaration of an exemption of duties to the value of four thousand roubles to ambassadors and in proportion to the ministers of the inferior orders, but that this sum is to be understood of the value of the goods entered, not of the customs payable upon them; an explanation contrary to the meaning which has hitherto been given to the first paper, and indeed to the literal sense of the words of it. As the duties here, which extend to almost everything—equipages, wines, liveries, cloaths, provisions, furniture, and even to the canopy, chappel furniture, and the frame of his Majesty's picture—amount at an average to about twenty-five per cent., the allowance is little more than two hundred pounds English, a sum so trivial that I hardly know how to receive it; least, however, my declining any favour of her Imperial Majesty should offend, it seems more proper for me to desire that I may be favoured with his Majesty's instructions whether I should accept of the deduction or pay the whole that is upon this footing due from me to the custom house. All the foreign ministers are extremely dissatisfied, and some have mentioned it, but I shall say nothing to the Administration till I am favoured with your Lord-

ship's answer. The foreign ministers had the same privileges they have in England till M. d'Aillon, the French minister in a former reign, imported two hundred pipes of wine at once and kept a warehouse for all sorts of merchandise.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Petersburg: September 20 (N.S.), 1763.

[I am informed that there is a person at Berlin who makes a constant practice of entertaining, and consequently delaying, all the English couriers who pass that way; you will easily know if there is any foundation for such a suggestion. The Austrian minister is very busy, and I am told is trying to make the Russians jealous of the Turks. I should be less uneasy with regard to the event of his negociations if I did not suspect him to be as zealous in the interests of the French as those of his own Court.]

The Same to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: September 20 (N.S.), 1763.

I was in the morning for near an hour with Count Bestucheff. I found he knew in general that a plan for a treaty of alliance had been sent to England, but either really was or affected to be ignorant of the terms proposed by this Court. When I mentioned them to him he expressed very strongly his disapprobation of them. In the course of conversation I unaffectedly asked upon what footing he thought M. Panin stood with the Empress. He told me he believed he had lately gained ground, but that the opinion he had singly given, and which determined the Empress in the hurry of the moment to confirm the late Emperor's Treaty with Prussia, so contrary to the terms and spirit of her declaration upon her accession to the throne, a step which upon reflection she could not approve, had greatly prejudiced her against him.

I saw M. Panin in the evening; our discourse turned principally upon the Treaty of Alliance. He defended the new propositions with a degree of warmth which would lead me to suppose that he had a principal share in the drawing them up. With regard to the stipulations relative to Sweden and Poland, he said that when England proposed to enter into an alliance with Russia it must be with a view of interesting herself in the affairs of the

north, and in that case the system could not be too comprehensive, for unless we secured Russia against the attacks of her neighbours she would be very little able upon any emergency to assist us. I answered him that with regard to Turkey that had nothing to do with the affairs of the north, and as to Poland my Court had already showed a disposition to favour the views of the Empress, but that I could not suppose his Majesty would choose to engage himself to such an extent as the separate article mentions, especially without some reciprocal stipulation. He replied that no treaty of consequence had ever been concluded without some sort of alteration, but hoped I should soon have his Majesty's answer to the Empress's propositions.

The disturbances in Poland are said to be subsiding. Count Keyserling mentioned lately that if any members of the Republick took umbrage at the Empress's troops marching through Poland he had directions to order them to turn back, and they are in consequence returning to the frontiers, but of these transactions your Lordship will have more accurate accounts from other hands.

The Prussian minister assured me yesterday that he did not believe any Treaty was carrying on between this Court and the House of Austria. He seems upon a much better footing than he was. The Empress-Queen has many friends here, but very few except the Vice-Chancellor (who I very much fear supports to his utmost the Family Compact, though he dare not avow it) can approve of her connection with the Bourbon family.

Lord Sandwich[1] *to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.*

Whitehall: September 23, 1763.

Having laid before his Majesty all the papers received and referred to in your dispatches of August 22 (N.S.), I have the King's commands to signify to your Excellency that his Majesty did not expect that, at a time when the Court of Russia seems so desirous of entering into an alliance purely defensive, they should choose to vary in some essential points from the letter and spirit of the former Treaty, and to offer such new proposals, in their secret and separate articles, as not only seem quite foreign to

[1] Lord Sandwich had now succeeded Lord Halifax in the Northern Department, while Halifax had accepted the seals of the Southern Department of Foreign Affairs.

the interests of Great Britain, but may too probably afford fresh matter for raising disturbances, particularly in the north of Europe, which this Treaty is principally calculated to prevent.

Your Excellency justly observes that all the alterations from the Treaty of 1742 are projected for the advantage of Russia. You will, therefore, endeavour to reduce the present Treaty as near as possible to the words of the former, except in such instances as shall now be pointed out to you, and in which his Majesty, to show his inclination to make every reasonable concession to the ideas of her Imperial Majesty, is willing to acquiesce.

With regard to the conclusion of the first article, some alteration might perhaps be necessary, so much time having elapsed since the year 1741, the period there referred to; and therefore in that instance there may be some reasons for deviating from the terms of the former Treaty.

In the seventh article it does not at all appear why the quantity of rye flour should be increased a full fifth part, and that of the salt doubled, neither is the decision of their College of War to be regarded by your Excellency in this case as a conclusive reason. But if, upon their producing such arguments as carry conviction with them, they should still insist upon this augmentation, his Majesty does not think it an object of such consequence but that your Excellency may recede from it.

In the fifteenth article the leaving out the exception of the Ottoman Porte can at no rate be agreed to, as the commercial interests of his Majesty's subjects are too closely connected with that Power, and the King's paternal care of his people will never suffer him to risk such a sacrifice. The conclusion of this article cannot be admitted as it now stands, but should be brought back to the words and meaning as they stood in the sixteenth article of the former Treaty,[1] where what relates to Spain, Portugal, and Italy is explained and ascertained in the clearest manner possible; whereas by the clause which they have added to their fifteenth article they are absolutely exempt from furnishing any succours to Great Britain in case of a war with Spain and Portugal; and the manner in which Italy is introduced cannot be intelligently connected with the rest of the sentence.

[1] Art. XVI. of Treaty of 1742: 'It is also agreed that, on account of the great distance of places, the troops which H.I.M. of all the Russias shall furnish by virtue of this alliance shall not be sent either into Spain, Portugal, or Italy.'

His Majesty sees no reason for any alteration in the eighteenth article, and wishes to have it conceived in the words of the Treaty of 1742.[1]

As to reducing the term of the present projected Treaty to eight from fifteen years, the time limited for the expiration of the former Treaty, his Majesty only wishes to consider the mutual interests of both nations in whatever concerns the duration of such alliance; but, as the King is always desirous of giving proofs of his sincere inclination to strengthen and secure the ties of friendship with her Russian Majesty, he would propose the renewal of the former term, or longer, as the contracting Powers shall agree.

As to the two secret articles,[2] they are utterly inadmissible, and can upon no account make a part of this Treaty, which is intended purely and simply to continue and cement the ancient union between the two Crowns of Great Britain and Russia. Your Excellency will therefore (at the same time that you express to her Imperial Majesty the King's real inclination to co-operate with her in all measures which are not inconsistent with the interests of his Crown) represent how improper it would be to enter into the disputes about the succession to the Crown of Poland, and thereby incur the danger of involving these kingdoms in a new war, for purposes in which they are no ways concerned.

I come now to the last point—which is the separate article—that postpones the entering into negociation upon the Treaty of Commerce till after the ratification of the Treaty of Alliance. This is so inconsistent with the friendly sentiments which the Court of Russia frequently expresses in their plan of the Treaty, that his Majesty does not easily comprehend to what cause he should attribute such an affected delay in the conclusion of a measure which is equally advantageous to both nations. I have it, therefore, in express command from the King to acquaint your Excellency that he expects the Treaty of Commerce and that of the Defensive Alliance should go on *pari passu*, and be signed together.

[1] Art. XVIII.: 'If it should happen that they should be obliged to have recourse to force of arms, no peace nor truce should be made without including therein such of the contracting parties as shall not have been attacked, that they may suffer no damage in resentment for the succours they shall have given to their ally.'

[2] See Appendix.

Your Excellency will observe some small addition to the words of the former Treaty in a term or two of ceremony, where the Court of Russia seems to affect a little air of superiority, which may as well be omitted. You will find them in the first and second articles, and, as they were not inserted in the former Treaty, there can be no pretence for their admission now. Your Excellency will always take care to have recourse to the former Treaty, the terms of which are so satisfactory that I cannot see any reason for deviating from them, especially in cases where nothing new is supposed to be offered.

Your Excellency is now fully instructed as to the whole of your reply to the Russian plan. It is his Majesty's pleasure that you support with firmness the several points which will not admit of alteration; but at the same time you will express the King's great friendship and regard for her Imperial Majesty, and how extremely desirous he is of renewing and rendering still more effectual the ancient ties of alliance between the two Crowns, and of co-operating in every measure which may tend to the mutual prosperity and security of their respective subjects.

You will endeavour to procure a speedy answer to the conditions offered by his Majesty, and if it should correspond—as there is reason to expect it will—with the King's just and equitable proposals, your Excellency will be immediately furnished with the full powers necessary for the execution of the Treaties. I am extremely happy to open my correspondence with your Lordship by acquainting you with the high approbation his Majesty expressed of your separate and most secret dispatch. And the King is particularly pleased with your great zeal and attention in procuring so many satisfactory informations upon points so important and essential.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord Halifax.

Petersburg: September 23 (N.S.), 1763.

Count Orlow informed me yesterday that the Empress had placed him at the head of the Commission for distributing the lands and other regulations in relation to such foreigners as shall settle in this country in consequence of that declaration which I mentioned in a former dispatch. Two persons are to be broke on the wheel to-morrow for a most barbarous murder. This is the first

capital punishment which has been inflicted since the accession of the late Empress Elizabeth.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: September 27 (N.S.), 1763.

I yesterday took an opportunity of entreating Count Orlow to procure me an opportunity of seeing her Majesty in private, which request he promised to mention to her. If she consents to it I shall make use of that occasion to urge the repeated instances she has received of his Majesty's friendship, particularly with regard to her views in Poland, and try to make her open more fully than she has hitherto done what really her purpose is. I will also press to my best abilities for the immediate conclusion of the Treaties upon such equal terms as may cement the natural union of the two nations.

Though he affects to show me great civility I much doubt the sincerity of the Vice-Chancellor, and am therefore always concerned when I have any business to transact with him. He is far from being a guarded man, and he often throws out invidious hints which, though too trifling to be taken notice of, yet are too frequently repeated not to arise from some pique or dislike to the English nation.

I have the advantage of living in great intimacy and ease with the persons of the first distinction here, but sensibly regret my ignorance in the German language, particularly when I converse either with Count Orlow or Count Bestucheff, who express themselves with great difficulty in French.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: September 30 (N.S.), 1763.

I have just had the honour of seeing the Empress, who received me most graciously, but did not chuse to explain herself more fully than she had already done upon her future views in Poland. She said that her great and principal object was in conjunction with his Britannic Majesty to put a negative upon any candidate who was recommended by the Bourbon family;[1] that it was not

[1] See Dispatch, May 5, 1763, and note, p. 27.

advisable to come to an absolute determination as yet, since there was no immediate prospect of a vacancy, and a change of circumstances might make that person very improper hereafter who should be fixed upon now. She plainly meant to make me believe that she was not at this time resolved in her own mind.

She asked me a great many questions with regard to the interior of England, assured me that she had a most cordial friendship for his Majesty and a sincere regard for the English nation, and that it would give her great concern if she thought there was the least doubt of it. I saw her at Count Orlow's. She came in at a private door, and he retired for the greatest part of the time she staid, which was about half an hour. When she was going I recommended in general the interests of England to her as the natural friend and ally of Russia. She smiled and told me that they were in very good hands.

I have lately had an opportunity of conversing with a person whom the Empress places great confidence in, and who, from his real knowledge and integrity, can, and I believe will, be of great use in properly explaining to her the state of the English trade with Russia. He tells me that from what she has said to him she is disposed to settle the Treaty of Commerce upon an equitable footing, but that, as she is determined to obtain previously all possible information, he believes it will be near Christmas before it can be fully entered into.

The persons who I mentioned in my last were to be executed, when they came upon the scaffold were informed that the Empress remitted the capital punishment.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Sunday, October 2, 1763.

[*Cypher*] The whole affair of the conspiracy alluded to in your Lordship's last letter has been kept an absolute secret here, and it is necessary to inform you that, since certain suspicions have arisen in the mind of his Prussian Majesty, there has been great reserve towards me on the part of his ministers. I must therefore beg the favour of your Lordship to communicate to me minutely for the future whatever you think may be proper for me to know in my station. I live in great friendship and in some degree of confidence with Prince Dolguruki. As to the question asked with

regard to the King of Prussia's dispositions to England, I have no reason to believe they are at all altered, though he is by no means pleased with some of the King's ministers, for reasons which from the papers in your Lordship's hands must be well known to you;[1] nor do I hear the K. of Prussia has yet made any advances to France, or France to him. If the union of the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, mentioned in your Lordship's letter of September 6, should make an impression at your Court, so as to join in that cabal, I cannot help apprehending the consequence, as an alliance with Russia is certainly of the greatest importance to his Prussian Majesty. [*Cypher ends.*]

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Same.

The Hague: October 4, 1763.

[*Cypher*] I am much obliged to your Lordship for your account of the interior of Russia, and shall be very happy at your leisure to know any particulars relative to so forced and singular a situation as that Empire is in. I suppose the once talked of marriage is laid aside; at least the great lady's friends must wish it. In my humble opinion, if no other accident intervenes, her situation is equally embarrassing whether her son lives or dies, and she has, I fear, many difficulties still to encounter. It gives me great satisfaction to hear of your Lordship's success and the approbation you meet with at the Court you reside at, which seems to be our corner stone of foreign politicks at present. I am told it is thought that at home you will have concluded before Parliament meets in November, though at the same time Woronzow will not believe the business can be done before the new year. I hope your next messenger will set him right. Pray do you ever hear anything of the unfortunate Prince of Brunswick? If you do a word now and then will be very acceptable, and you may depend upon secrecy. It will be a great point gained to exclude the French entirely from Russia, though I am always afraid of the French education for Northern Princes, for that nation does not confine their negotiations all to the minister with a publick character. Your neighbours in Sweden are soliciting hardly at Paris for five millions of livres to prevent a Diet, but I think that they will have difficulty to obtain it, for money is so scarce everywhere that one should hope

[1] See vol. i. p. 50 *et seq.*

that alone should secure peace for a long time. The appearance of the strictest union between the branches of Bourbon has manifested itself strikingly in the promotion of Grimaldi and the naming that ambassador Fuentes to succeed him at Paris. This must naturally keep our attention and that of Portugal, for the Family Compact is notoriously aimed at both of us, and I know my friend Grimaldi his sentiments upon that head.[1] I think that for all this we may preserve peace if we give proper attention and secure your Court effectually. We think here, as you do, that the treaty between Prussia and Russia relates to Poland, but it is not yet determined. Can either of those nations wish to put a considerable Pole upon the throne? I am told the Court of Vienna affects great indifference upon that affair, and rather chuses to slight the friendship of Russia, probably that is because they cannot do otherwise. [*End of Cypher.*]

We have nothing stirring here important enough to lengthen out a letter. The credit of the Exchange at Amsterdam begins to recover; the cause of its decline was the greediness of a few merchants, the debasing of the coin in Germany, and the calling it in too suddenly.

Lord Stormont to the Same.

Dresden: October 6, 1763.

I did not intend to have troubled your Lordship with my correspondence till after my arrival at Vienna. But, as a friend of mine sets out this evening for Warsaw, I take the opportunity of sending your Lordship the earliest account of his Polish Majesty's [2] sudden death. Nothing ever was more unexpected. He had been indisposed for a few days with a slight cold, but was well enough to go to Mass yesterday morning, and had appointed an opera for to-morrow. He had a fainting fit yesterday when he came from chappel, and died at five in the afternoon of a suffocation.

I thought your Lordship would be glad to have the earliest intelligence of an event of such importance and so interesting for your Court.

[1] The Marquis Hieronymus Grimaldi, Spanish ambassador in Paris, and since October 1763 Minister for Foreign Affairs at Madrid.

[2] Augustus III., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony.

The Elector of Saxony to the King of England.

A Dresde : 7 oct. 1763.

Sire,—

J'ai perdu un bon Roy, et le plus tendre des pères, et Votre Majesté perd véritablement un frère, un Monarque qui désiroit de vivre avec Elle dans la plus étroite amitié.

Je crois devoir à ma Maison, et aux Polonois, fidèlement attachés au feu Roy, de m'offrir à la République pour la gouverner et la consoler, s'il m'est possible, de la perte qu'elle vient de faire. La puissante assistance de Votre Majesté me sera un secours très nécessaire pour réussir dans ce dessein, et j'ose me flatter qu'Elle ne me la refusera pas. Son cœur généreux voudra consoler un fils plongé dans l'affliction, et soutenir une Maison toujours amie de la sienne. V. M. peut me rendre favorables les Cours de Russie et de Prusse : Elle aura de bonnes raisons pour leur faire entendre que mon élection au Trône de Pologne sera la plus convenable au sistème du Nord. Et si Elle veut bien rendre justice à mes sentimens, Elle sera persuadée qu'en procurant mon élection Elle travaillera pour la gloire et l'avantage de sa propre Couronne. Je la prie de vouloir donner créance au comte d'Einsidel qui lui exposera plus amplement mes vues et mes pensées ; et je suis avec un inviolable attachement,

FRIDERIC.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin : Saturday, October 8, 1763.

Yesterday his Prussian Majesty received news that the King of Poland died on the 5th instant. Many expresses were immediately dispatched to divers parts, and it is impossible to conjecture what alteration this death may make in the affairs of Europe. [*Cypher*] The King of Prussia, I am informed, has wrote to the Empress of Russia that he continues in his resolution of acting in concert with her Imperial Majesty in order to procure the Crown of Poland for a natural of that country, but I have no communication of any treaty's being signed between the Czarina and his Prussian Majesty for that purpose. It has been this day strongly reported that there has been a revolution in Russia and that Ivan was declared Emperor, to which I give no credit, but I cannot help being alarmed with what is whispered of the Empress's intention

of marrying Orlow, and, which is now publickly talked of, her having actually obtained from the Court of Vienna a patent of the dignity of Prince of the Empire for the said Orlow. If such things be true nothing that can happen will surprise me. I can assure your Lordship there is not the least truth in the information you have had of a person here making a constant practice of entertaining and consequently delaying all the couriers that pass this way. [*Cypher ends.*]

His Prussian Majesty came to Charlottenbourg yesterday, where he gave an audience to the Great Chancellor, Woronzow, who had afterwards the honour of dining with him. In the evening the Chancellor, his lady and daughter assisted at a ball given by the Queen of Prussia, and the next day his Prussian Majesty set out for Potzdam. The Chancellor tells me he intends to set out to-morrow morning for Vienna by the way of Breslau, and he charged me with compliments for your Excellency.

Mr. Wroughton to the Same.

Warsaw: October 10, 1763.

I have been here fourteen days, the King having ordered me away, that I might give him an account of what passed on the entry of a corps of Russian troops into the Duchy of Lithuania, which was a circumstance that threatened much more serious consequences than it was attended with. Happily the pacific disposition of H.I.M. prevented the flame from spreading; but, as your Lordship will be fully acquainted with the termination of that affair, I shall hasten to confirm an event of much more importance. A courier despatched yesterday morning by Count Keyserling to his Court will have published the news of the sudden death of the King of Poland at Dresden on the 5th inst. I left his Majesty in so good health and spirits, and had in him so gracious a friend, that this unexpected stroke filled me not only with surprise, but with real and unaffected concern. He was a Prince whose character was not sufficiently known, endowed with many amiable qualities. He suffered his mind to lay in too great inaction, and consequently threw the whole load of affairs on those who were much less capable than himself to conduct them; a small exertion of his own good sense would have prevented all the misfortunes that have happened to his dominions and family.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: October 14 (N.S.), 1763.

My servant arrived here yesterday in the afternoon, and I was with the Vice-Chancellor this morning early and acquainted him with his Majesty's answer to their projected treaty. He seemed a good deal concerned at it, so much as to confirm me in my suspicions that we were indebted to him for some of the alterations My opinion can be of very little consequence, but I cannot help mentioning that my instructions are such as I wished to receive, and very possibly may ultimately have a good effect. This Court always affects to take great consequence and superiority upon themselves, and at the same time have no great share of steadiness or resolution. That firmness, therefore, with which I am directed to act may be probably the best method of inducing them to conclude the Treaties upon reasonable terms.

The Vice-Chancellor acquainted me that he was directed by the Empress to communicate to me that she had received information from Sweden that the French had proposed a Treaty [1] with that country by which they are to pay a million and a half of livers for ten years, upon consideration that during that time the Swedes are to furnish them with six men-of-war and six frigates, and at the end of the term the ships are to be replaced by the French. The Swedes have declined entering into it till the French have paid four millions of livers, part of eighteen thousand due to them upon account of subsidy, and the Treaty remains in suspense till the answer comes from France, which is expected the beginning of November. In consequence of this intelligence her Imperial Majesty is desirous that the King should send immediately a minister to Stockholm to co-operate with hers in opposing the measures of France.

I told him I would immediately communicate what he mentioned to my Court, but at the same time observed that the present situation of England and Sweden was such as would probably make it difficult to comply with this request.

I am assured that the principal Russians boast that the Empress, from being a foreigner, is entirely in their power, and in this idea they thwart her plans upon every occasion. Her superiority of understanding and information naturally leads her to despise them,

and she is also fully sensible of their profligacy and insincerity. One instance of this I can mention as a fact. She was conversing some little time ago with a person in whom she places great confidence, and upon seeing two of her ministers embrace she smiled and said, 'If those two men knew what each says to me every day of the other there would be less appearance of cordiality in their salutations.' She added that if she was to give credit to half the stories told her she should very soon not have a minister left.

There was yesterday in the afternoon an extraordinary council, probably in consequence of the news from Sweden. The Vice-Chancellor insinuated to me this morning that the French could only want the Swedish men-of-war to act against England, but if that was the opinion of his Court they would not express so much solicitude, as the message delivered to me clearly implies. I must entreat your Lordship to find words for me to express the high sense I feel of his Majesty's most gracious approbation of my conduct. I wish it may be in my power to make myself more deserving of it.

P.S.—Since my writing this dispatch I have been with Count Bestucheff. Upon my acquainting him with the answer which his Majesty has sent to the Empress's propositions he seemed to approve of it, and hinted that he thought everything would in the end be properly settled, but he desired me to represent to my Court, as from him, how urgent he thought the necessity of his Majesty's sending a minister immediately to Stockholm. He told me that not only the Russian minister in that country, but those Swedes who oppose the French faction[1] complained of the want of an English minister.

[1] See for this the letters of Colonel Ramsey, who represented the 'English party' in Sweden, and those of Wilkinson (otherwise Gedda), who corresponded privately from Sweden with the English Government. They are urgent for an English ambassador, and point out that now, when great discontent existed against France, because she was remiss in the payment of her subsidies, it was the moment for England to intervene. The Queen of Sweden, who had been vacillating, was now becoming favourable to an English alliance. (See *P. R. O.*, vol. cxxvii., Sweden, Oct. 6, 1761; Jan. 2 and June 15, 1762; July 26, Sept. 13, 1763, &c.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: October 18 (N.S.), 1763.

I have not yet received the Empress's answer to his Majesty's proposals;[1] but the Vice-Chancellor means I should understand it is to be a very cold one, and insinuated that he had persuaded her to consult her council before she came to any positive resolution. He dined with me on Sunday and I have not seen him since. Yesterday was the usual conference, but it was put off, and I believe principally from their not being fully determined upon what should be said to me. The Empress did not speak to me on Sunday morning, but in the evening her behaviour was as usual. His Majesty's declining the engagements in relation to Poland is a very great disappointment to her, as the securing the nomination of a successor to that crown is her most favourite point. Her late conduct has certainly done her interest and that of her friends most essential prejudice. The precipitation with which she marched her troops into Poland and that with which she withdrew them were equally injudicious, and her not ordering them to continue their route to Kiow and Smolensko, as she had alledged that they were marching to those places, was at once throwing off the mask and avowing the real object of that measure.

When I am speaking of Poland I am tempted to mention something which fell from the Great Duke. He was at dinner with some company, and in the course of conversation asked a foreigner who was at the table the age of the King of Poland. He answered him, 'Sixty-seven.' 'Then,' replied the Great Duke, 'he may live ten years longer, and if he should I will make you King of Poland.' Your Lordship will easily imagine that this *saillie* made no small impression upon the company. M. Panin was particularly struck with it, and did not look up for some time. Those who frequently see the young Prince assure me his parts are beyond his age.

I cannot conclude without observing that in general I am not pleased with appearances here, and that the alliance and commerce of England are not considered exactly in the light they deserve. Upon the Vice-Chancellor's attempting to persuade me that we ought not to have rejected all their propositions I could not help telling him that my instructions were such not only as I expected, but as I wished to have, and that he ought to have been sensible

[1] See pp. 73 and 74.

of it from the manner in which I received their project. He answered that he only imagined we should have demanded some reciprocal concessions.

Upon looking over the dispatch, September 30, in which I gave an account of my private conversation with her Imperial Majesty[1] I was sorry to find that I had omitted one circumstance. When I spoke to her of the Treaties she cut me short by saying it would now be her turn to press the conclusion of them (I suppose she meant upon her own terms). She then changed the conversation.

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

October 18, 1763.

[*Cypher*] . . . It gives me great pleasure to assure your Lordship that your separate and most secret letter of the 9th has given his Majesty entire satisfaction, who was pleased to express his approbation of it in the most gracious manner. I am likewise to inform you that Count Woronzow has been with me and mentioned in the strongest manner the Empress his Mistress's desire that everything upon the subject of your letter to the Chancellor might be totally forgot, and that her Imperial Majesty would be extremely concerned if that affair should make any impression here to your Lordship's disadvantage. The King observed with some concern from the conversation your Lordship had, as well with the Vice-Chancellor as M. Panin, that the Court of Russia seemed to expect great concessions on his Majesty's part in the new articles they had prepared with regard to Poland. My dispatch of the 23rd past will have enabled your Lordship to explain that matter more clearly, where you will find that his Majesty, with a constant attention to the mutual interest of the two crowns and desire of preserving the tranquillity of the north, never means to enter into any engagements contrary to that system, but to co-operate with her Imperial Majesty in such salutary measures as might tend to secure the repose of Europe after so expensive and destructive a war. The wishes of his Majesty's Councils and their constant attention to the important affairs of Poland will now more fully appear when the sudden death of the King of Poland brings the affairs of that kingdom to a crisis, which (if any violent maxims were adopted) could not but be attended with very serious

[1] See p. 77.

consequences. Your Lordship therefore seemed perfectly to understand the instructions contained in the letters of February 11 and March 1, when you mentioned in your conversation with M. Panin what you very properly called the King's disposition to favour the Czarina's views, as his Majesty could not express his friendly intentions in any other than general terms, nor perfectly judge in what manner he could best employ his good office on that occasion, till the Court of Russia had by a confidential communication upon this subject signified the measures they meant to pursue, as well as the person whose interest they wished to promote, whenever the crown of Poland should become vacant. As this event has now taken place your Lordship cannot be too cautious in the manner you express yourself to the Russian ministers with regard to the part his Majesty may take in the ensuing election, and I cannot send better instructions than referring you to the dispatch of February 11, where you will find that, from the total silence of the Court of Russia, both upon the measures they intended to pursue and as to the candidate whose interest they meant to promote when a vacancy should happen in the Crown of Poland, his Majesty has no other part than to assure the Empress of his very sincere inclination to promote as far as might depend upon his influence what might be most agreeable to that Princess, and to acquaint her Imperial Majesty with his sentiments with regard to the candidate whom she may think her interest concerns to support, as soon as his Majesty should be intrusted with the knowledge of her resolution. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: October 21 (N.S.), 1763.

Your Lordship will easily imagine that at this time the unexpected event of the death of the King of Poland has occasioned some agitation at this Court. Frequent Councils have been held, and it is said that very different opinions have been given by those who have been consulted upon so critical a question; yet probably H.I.M.'s own wish will decide, and if a war should be the consequence she cannot employ her troops anywhere so agreeably to themselves as in Poland. Her greatest difficulty will be to find those large sums of money which upon these occasions are indispensably necessary. I am induced to

suspect that either from the opposition of her councillors, her own caution, or her feeling less zeal than formerly she did for the cause of a particular family, that she has expressed some doubts with regard to the part she should take, as I have remarked for these last two days great appearance of the most anxious curiosity in a person whom I know to be a warm friend of the Czartoryski family, and who is probably the channel of their correspondence with her Imperial Majesty.

Prince Repnin, who was lately minister at Berlin, is preparing to set out immediately for Warsaw, and it is natural to suppose that before his departure the final resolution will be taken. Upon the first news of the King's death an order was sent to the Russian troops who were returning from Lithuania to halt.

Nothing has as yet been mentioned to me in relation to the future election, nor have I had any conversation with the ministers since my last dispatch. Her Imperial Majesty certainly had flattered herself that the King would have supported her schemes. When I have occasionally expressed to Panin and the Vice-Chancellor (before the courier returned from England) the many and obvious objections which occurred to their propositions, they always told me they were convinced that my Court would be less averse to them than I expected.

I sent a note the day before yesterday to the Vice-Chancellor, in which I mentioned my being fully sensible that the death of his Polish Majesty was an event which must naturally at first very much ingross the attention of the Empress, but that I flattered myself that she would give some answer to the communications I had lately made. In his answer he says that it is very true that their time is greatly taken up at present, that if indeed his Britannick Majesty's plan had been conformable to theirs, or had only deviated a little from it, the Empress would have concluded immediately, but as in effect it differs so widely, the Court of England cannot but think it reasonable that her Imperial Majesty should not give her answer but upon mature deliberation.

I was yesterday with Count Bestucheff, but could get little from him, except his usual general professions of regard to the English nation. He has lately been rather cool and reserved in his behaviour to me. His strength visibly declines and he does not remember what he says, or is said to him, for two days together.

A Supreme Council is to be appointed, consisting of six persons, Bestucheff, Panin, Nepleioff, Wolkonski, the Vice-Chancellor, and Alsufiow; the Senate and all the colleges are to be subordinate to them.

I must not forget to mention at this juncture that, though I had little doubt of it before, I have lately received full confirmation of the authenticity of a piece of intelligence which your Lordship will find in my dispatch to Mr. Grenville of October 6, 1762.[1]

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

Prince Wolkonski is universally esteemed a gallant soldier and a frank, honest man. He is entirely devoted to his uncle Bestucheff, whose duplicity may easily lead his well-intentioned and unsuspecting plainness into mischief, as when at Moscow he persuaded him to sign the paper recommending to the Empress to marry a subject. Military men insinuate that he has not capacity for a commander-in-chief, but that to lead on an attack with spirit he is the best officer the Russians have.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Sir Joseph Yorke.

Petersburg: October 25 (N.S.), 1763.

. . . I flatter myself the Government here is acquiring a greater degree of stability; at least there is certainly an outward appearance of it. The marriage plan met with so warm an opposition in the first instance at Moscow that it has not been mention'd since. I have heard nothing lately of the Prince of Brunswick, but believe they have no thoughts of setting him at liberty. The Empress herself is certainly no friend to France, though many of those about her, I fear, secretly favour the views of that nation, who have emissary's in every considerable Russian family. Their minister together with those of Spain and Austria act entirely in concert, and have such long conferences in all places and upon all occasions as lay them open to a little ridicule. Yet however trifling the subjects may be, which these gentlemen are pleas'd to treat mysteriously, the strict union of the Court of Vienna with

[1] See p. 75, vol. i. This relates to Catherine's promise on her accession to the Russian throne that she would endeavour to obtain that of Poland for Stanislas Poniatowski.

the Bourbon family is a consideration of the most serious kind, and calls for the attention of all the other European Powers, and surely it is greatly to be wish'd that some measures should be immediately taken for settling that balance which in this new system of politicks is intirely lost.

Spain must be considered for the future as a province of France. The negotiations of the French in Sweden give great uneasiness here.

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: October 25 (N.S.), 1763.

This Court is now taking every measure to support the cause of their friends in Poland. Prince Repnin's journey has been put off for two or three days, but he is now upon the point of setting out. He is to act as assistant minister to Count Keyserling. I was yesterday with the Vice-Chancellor, who for some days has been more cordial in his behaviour to me, and speaks with less warmth upon our having rejected their project. I should imagine that if his Majesty had thought proper to make some little concessions with regard to their Polish plan, they would have waived their other demands, but this is only conjecture.

The Vice-Chancellor renewed the conversation upon the affairs of Sweden, and told me that her Imperial Majesty flattered herself that the King would comply with her request in sending a minister to that country. He mentioned that there was great appearance of every thing's being amicably settled in Poland, as the King of Prussia had engaged to act in concert with Russia, and added that, provided the French candidates were excluded, the Empress was otherwise very indifferent as to the election. I could not tell him I did not believe him.

Upon my asking him what could be the reasons which determined his Court not to enter into the Treaty of Alliance nearly upon the old terms, he said that they were too partial, and hinted that the Russian Ministers at that time had principally consulted their own private interest in making it. I answered that I could not possibly see it in that light, that indeed their new propositions might probably have had the effect of ruining our Turkey trade and engaging us immediately in a war, but otherwise the stipulated succours were so small, as could not be any great

object to either country, and that the treaty in effect was principally to be considered as a basis for that more comprehensive system which the present state of Europe required. To this he assented.

I had some conversation afterwards with the Prussian minister, who told me with great appearance of sincerity that his Court, he believed, would be neutral in the affairs of Poland. I cannot determine whether the Vice-Chancellor was better informed of the King of Prussia's sentiments than his own minister, or that he was not founded in what he so positively advanced. If his Prussian Majesty has really engaged to enter effectually into the views of the Empress, he has certainly stipulated something for his own advantage, perhaps with regard to Polish Prussia. If so it is a secret of so nice a nature, that possibly it may be only known to her Imperial Majesty and himself. I never more sincerely regretted the tediousness of the correspondence between England and Russia than at this time, and wait with the greatest impatience for a letter from your Lordship, wrote since you received the news of the King of Poland's death. I like appearances rather better than I did some days ago, but wish with some degree of anxiety that the Treaty of Alliance was once concluded. I have been less uneasy about the fate of the Treaty of Commerce since a conversation mentioned in my dispatch of September 30.[1]

From His Majesty to the Elector of Saxony.

A St. James's: 25 octobre 1763.

Mon Frère,—

C'est avec un vrai chagrin que je viens de recevoir la nouvelle que vous m'annoncez de la mort de mon bon Frère le Roi de Pologne, et je partage bien sincèrement la juste douleur qu'un fils si affectionné ressent de la perte d'un bon roi, et d'un tendre père.

A l'égard de l'élection d'un successeur au Trône de Pologne, si mes vœux sont exaucés, elle se fera de manière que les droits et les privilèges de cette république soient toujours respectés, et qu'il n'arrive rien de fâcheux qui puisse troubler le système pacifique de l'Europe, si heureusement rétabli, après une guerre sanglante et ruineuse.

Toutes mes vues sont dirigées vers un objet si juste et si

[1] His private audience with the Empress.

salutaire, et je m'attirerois le reproche d'avoir commencé les troubles que je cherche soigneusement à prévenir, si je me montrois d'avance trop intentionné à soutenir les prétensions d'aucun concurrent, d'autant plus que mes royaumes ne sont uniquement intéressés dans les affaires de Pologne que par rapport à mes alliés.

Au reste vous pouvez compter sur mon amitié. Veuille le ciel vous combler de ses bienfaits, et prolonger vos jours pour la gloire de votre maison & pour le bonheur de vos sujets.

Je suis avec beaucoup d'affection,
Mon Frère,
Votre bon Frère,
GEORGE R.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: October 28 (N.S.), 1763.

Inclosed I send your Lordship the Russian scheme for a Levant trade.[1] If it was to succeed it would be of very serious consequence to the English, who at present carry on the whole of that commerce for the Russians, but I do not find it alarms the merchants here, as they seem convinced that from their ignorance in business, their want of credit and of proper seamen, they will never be able to establish it. I was promised some time ago an exact account of the present state of the Russian Navy, which is said to be very low, but have not yet received it; however I am credibly informed that they could not muster one thousand able seamen upon the greatest emergency.

I had a very long conversation last night with M. Panin; it turned chiefly upon the affairs of Sweden. He urged very strongly the expediency of his Majesty's sending a minister immediately to Stockholm. He dwelt much upon the miserable, impoverished state of the country, and asserted that to his knowledge, even if the French should advance the four millions of livres demanded, that the ministry would be obliged to anticipate the publick revenue in February next. I observed to him that if that was the case they would not easily be able to fit out the six men-of-war and six

[1] This scheme consisted at first only in the dispatch of one frigate, the expenses of which were to be defrayed by Government. It was necessary to employ foreign sailors. (See *P. R. O.: Russia*, vol. lxxxiv.)

frigates (stipulated in the intended French Treaty) which probably would be immediately demanded. He said he believed it would be very difficult for them to accomplish it, and that it would undoubtedly exhaust all their naval stores and employ all their seamen.

He afterwards mentioned with warmth the Family Compact, which he considers in a very proper light; notwithstanding all the pains taken by the late French minister to gain him, he seems determined from principle to oppose the designs of that nation.

As soon as the King of Poland was dead the Elector wrote to the Empress intreating her protection and assistance in Poland, to which she answered that she should ever be a friend to Saxony, but that they must not expect her to support their views in Poland. She was a good deal pressed, but ineffectually, by Bestucheff to send a more favourable answer.

As his Prussian Majesty's officious concurrence with the empress's views in Poland and the couriers who had passed lately between Berlin and Petersburg had occasioned a strong report that the two Courts had signed a Treaty of Alliance, I thought it right to ask the Vice-Chancellor if it was true. He positively denyed, but added that the King of Prussia was so desirous of it that it was in her Imperial Majesty's power to conclude with him (if such was her inclination) almost upon her own terms. We afterwards entered into a conversation upon our Treaty of Alliance, and reasoned very particularly upon the several innovations proposed by this Court. At last he said he was sure the Empress would never depart from the alteration in relation to Turkey, but asked me (as from himself) if I thought my Court would have the same objection, if the article in the body of the Treaty stood as before and the making the war with Turkey a *casus fœderis* was stipulated by a most secret article. I told him that there were so many objections to it, and my Court had already explained themselves so positively upon the subject, that I was persuaded they never would give in to it. He said then he feared we should never conclude, and hinted that they should make a very indifferent appearance if they were to depart from all their propositions without any settlement.

We afterwards conversed upon the general state of the affairs of Europe, and speaking of the connections of the House of Austria with France, he said they could not quit France till they

were sure of England and Russia, but that he could venture to assert that the moment England and Russia had settled their Treaty the Court of Vienna would with eagerness embrace the offer of being comprised in it.

The Imperial ambassador mentioned to me yesterday how very sensible his Court was of his Britannic Majesty's goodness in so cordially promising his vote to the Archduke as King of the Romans.

P.S.—The Vice-Chancellor mentioned that the Anti-French party in Sweden had so strongly expressed their wishes for an English minister that Count Ostermann, the Russian Envoy in Sweden, had wrote to the Russian Envoy at Copenhagen intreating him to persuade Sir John Goodericke to come to Stockholm in his private character, upon the strongest assurances that the Swedes would immediately send a minister to England. They are very much afraid here of Sweden's becoming an absolute monarchy.

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whitehall: October 28, 1763.

[*Cypher*] . . . Mons^{r} de Guerchy was with me yesterday, and assured me as sent from his Court that though, from their intimate ties of affinity with the House of Saxony, they naturally wish to see the present Elector successor to the Crown of Poland, yet they did by no means intend to take any active part in promoting his interest. He at the same time spoke of the reports which have lately prevailed concerning the intended dismembring of some parts of Poland, and added that any such dismembring ought, if possible, to be prevented as contrary to the interest of his Court as well as ours. Your Lordship will be the best judge what use to make of this information, and whether the knowledge that the French will not interfere essentially in any troubles, which may happen in Poland, may not enable the Empress of Russia to resist some proposals from the King of Prussia which she may otherwise out of necessity submit to. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Same to the Same.

[*Separate.*] Whitehall: October 28, 1763.

With regard to the order which your Excellency desires in your letter of the 16th past, whether you should accept the small sum offer'd you in compensation for the duties you had paid for your baggage, etc., I observe that your Excellency seems to apprehend that the privileges of foreign ministers in England, in this respect, are unlimited. I must, however, inform you that the regulation here, for an ambassador, is one tun, or four hogsheads of wine, clear of all duties, and to every minister of inferior character two; with which, I find, the Earl of Bute acquainted Mr. Keith, on March 23, 1762, in answer to his letter transmitting the note given him by the Russian ministers, February 5 that year, a copy whereof your Excellency incloses in your letter of the 20th of last month. The King, therefore, sees no objection to your accepting the money offer'd, if other foreign ministers, in Russia, shall comply with the regulation in question, of which your Excellency will inform yourself. But in case the foreign ministers shall think it best to decline this indulgence, you will then transmit an account thereof, with their reasons, to be laid before the King for his Majesty's further orders thereupon.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: November 1 (N.S.), 1763.

In consequence of the conversation mentioned in my last dispatch I wrote a note to the Vice-Chancellor setting forth the numberless objections that made it utterly unadvisable for England to acquiesce in the proposition relative to Turkey, that as to its being kept secret, the moment the *casus fœderis* existed the engagement could no longer be concealed, and the discovery would be fatal, not only to the English trade with Turkey but also with Italy, etc., from the insults our ships would be liable to from the numerous pirates dependant upon the Porte; besides that the stipulated assistance from England was so trifling compared with the essential loss it must occasion, that certainly upon reflection her Imperial Majesty's greatness of mind, her candour and her friendship for a nation who felt so much for her would induce her to desist from a pretension which, though so trivial an object to

her, would in its effect be so ruinous to England; that I was fully sensible of the interesting consequences which might result to the general system of Europe from the immediate conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance, but that I could not, contrary to my own opinion, repeatedly send proposals to my Court tending to sacrifice the still more essential objects of their commerce to a connection otherwise so desirable; that it gave me the greatest concern to perceive that some of those who shared the confidence of her Imperial Majesty considered the engagements both of commerce and alliance as more necessary to England than to Russia; that for my part I should always see them in the light of conventions calculated for the mutual honour, advantage, convenience, and security of two great and respectable nations.

The note was shewed to the Empress, and I have reason to flatter myself that it had rather a good effect, as she noticed me more than usual the day following.

I was yesterday with the Vice-Chancellor, who is not sparing of his professions of zeal to smooth the difficulties which obstruct our present negotiations. He told me that the article relative to Poland was now out of the question, but that England should make some other concessions, and urged again a most secret article in case of a war with Turkey, and pressed me to mention it in my dispatch, to which I answered that I was convinced my Court could not possibly come into it. I afterwards hinted that the frequent delays the Treaty of Commerce had met with had occasioned some uneasiness and made a great impression in England. He blamed the dilatoriness of those to whose consideration it was referred, and assured me with earnestness that he would speak of it to the Empress. As I was leaving him I mentioned that however adverse my Court might be to entering into the particular stipulations proposed by the Empress, that I was in my own mind thoroughly persuaded that upon any real emergency she would find a sincere friend in the English nation. It was insinuated to me yesterday that Bestucheff's zeal for the House of Saxony was carried so far as to disgust the Empress, also that the Vice-Chancellor had been too busy and that the opposition the other counsellors gave to her favourite plan might possibly throw great authority into M. Panin's hands. Thirty thousand Russians will soon be assembled in the neighbourhood of Smolensko; it is

believed that General Panin (an officer of reputation) will have the command. Wolkonski has been also talked of, but his uncle, Bestucheff, thinks him necessary here.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

The character of General Panin[1] will be best understood from what his brother said upon a late occasion. The General's wife died, and he was thought to be so strongly affected at the loss as to endanger his health. The Empress sent Schurin to him (an old confidant, once master of her private wardrobe) to assure him of her regard and friendship, and intreating him to take care of his health at a time when his services were so essentially necessary to her. M. Panin upon hearing this expressed himself in the following terms, as nearly as they can be rendered in English:— 'I affectionately love my brother. I regard him as born from that womb from which I owe my being; yet natural affection does not blind me as to his character. Very inferior in point of ability's, he is enterprizing and desperate, and surely it must be some desperate purpose for which he can be necessary to the Empress.'

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Wednesday, November 2, 1763.

[*Cypher*] The King of Prussia has not yet received an answer to the letter he wrote to the Empress of Russia upon the death of the King of Poland, and it is thought that he will take no step with regard to the succession of that Crown till he hears from her Imperial Majesty. His Prussian Majesty has been solicited by the Elector of Saxony, who offers himself a candidate, and he has likewise been wrote to by the Court of Vienna in favour of that Elector; and I heard the answers he made to both are very civil, but in general concluding that he could determine on nothing till he should hear from the Empress of Russia. I have reason to believe that the Court of Vienna is extremely jealous of the union between the Court of Petersburg and Berlin, and they suspect that there is an actual treaty subsisting between the above mentioned Courts, not only for chusing a King of Poland, but also for dismembring some parts of that kingdom and appropriating them to

[1] Count Peter Ivanovitch Panin.

themselves, but I have not yet been able to discover that any such treaty exists. One thing indeed is probable, that if the Courts of Russia and Berlin should agree to chuse a Piast for king, neither Austria nor France will in the present circumstances be able to give them much opposition. It has been reported here that Prince Henry of Prussia will offer himself a candidate for the Crown of Poland; though I give no credit to this report I mention it to your Lordship, as it may be worth enquiring whether any such proposition has ever been made by the King of Prussia to the Empress of Russia, for though that Prince has every personal merit I cannot persuade myself that the Courts of Petersburg, Vienna, and Versailles, or even the Poles themselves, would ever agree to such a proposition, especially during the life of the present King of Prussia.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: November 4 (N.S.), 1763.

A conversation I have this moment had with Count Bestucheff induces me to write much later, and consequently more in a hurry, than I could have wished. He told me that the Empress is determined to oppose the views of the French in Sweden, and hoped for the concurrence of England. He also confirmed what I had already heard from another quarter, that she is sending remittances to that country.

Upon my expressing my surprise that Prince Repnin was not yet set out for Warsaw, he told me he still waited for money and instructions, but was now upon the point of his departure. He desired me to mention to my Court, as from him, that we should at this time rather act upon the reserve and not appear too solicitous about either of the treaties, as the present plans of this country in Poland and Sweden must oblige them rather to sue for the assistance of England. His reasoning is certainly just, but at the same time I must observe that he expressed himself with the warmth of a man who was piqued that his advice had not been adopted.

In speaking of the renewal of the Treaty of Alliance he insinuated that we must assist Russia in case of a Turkish war.

The uniform language which every part of the Administration holds upon that subject gives just reason to suspect that,

however peremptorily they may assert the contrary, they see a disagreement with the Porte as a very probable contingency. And, indeed, when we consider the assiduity with which her Imperial Majesty cultivates every branch of commerce where there is the least glimmering prospect of success, it is but natural to suppose that whenever the present more urgent objects are settled, and she finds herself fully established upon the throne, she will seize the first pretence of fortifying Asoph [1] and of attempting to recover the right of navigating the Black Sea in Russian vessels. I must add that the situation of the borders of the two Empires and the nature of the inhabitants is such that it is easy for either of them at any time to tax the other with being the aggressor. This is wrote merely from conjecture, but I cannot think that conjecture totally ill-founded.

From the Same to Lord Stormont.

Petersburg: November 7, 1763.

. . . I cannot but imagine that the Empress is thoroughly determined to support her friend in Poland; yet there are some of those about her who, partly from old connections with the Court of Saxony and partly biassed by the insinuations of the ministers of Austria and the House of Bourbon, labour as far as they dare to divert her from that system, or at least to persuade her to act with a degree of supineness, which would make her assistance ineffectual and ultimately destructive to that party she desires to advance. Baron Osten, whose character and whose friendships your Lordship is most thoroughly acquainted with,[2] has been most cordially received by her Imperial Majesty, who at times, I believe, talks to him with some sort of confidence upon most subjects, except those which relate to the interests of his own Court.

In a conversation I very lately had with the Vice-Chancellor, in which, talking of the general state of Europe, I lamented the strict union which still subsisted between the Court of Vienna and the Bourbon family, he told me that he could take upon himself to assert that wherever England and Russia showed a disposition to connect themselves intimately with the Empress Queen she

[1] By the peace of Belgrade, 1739, Russia retained Azof, recently conquered from the Turks, but on the condition that its fortifications should be destroyed.

[2] See pp. 46 and 99.

would meet them more than half-way, and added he was persuaded that even Count Caunitz would promote such a connection. The Vice-Chancellor's partiality and his almost avowed attachment for the Court of Vienna induces me to think he would not have made so positive a declaration without some authority.

Count Orlow's interest with the Empress seems daily to increase. She says she never talks to him upon foreign affairs; he is, however, a channel of communication which Count Bestucheff frequently makes use of. Panin has also a share in her confidence, but she declares there is no one person to whom she discloses her thoughts upon all occasions.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

Le Caractère d'Osten.[1]

Cependant il faut vous dire ce que c'est que ce Osten. Son maintien, ses principes et sa figure sont également ignobles; il est roux et bossu, et possède en suprême degré ce sourire malin et cette œillade à demi-louche dont le Diable se plaît à parer les physionomies de ses plus zélés serviteurs. Inquiet, intriguant, le plus hardi menteur qui fût jamais, il veut toujours faire quelque chose et le mal par préférence. C'est un de ces petits instruments, de ces galopins de politique qui, rarement utiles, déshonorent toujours les Cours et les Ministres qui les employent. Le cardinal Richelieu en auroit fait une mouche et l'auroit régalé de tems en tems de cent coups de bâton ou d'une poignée de louis d'or selon que ses misérables manèges réussissoient.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: November 8 (N.S.), 1763.

The Vice-Chancellor notifyed to me yesterday that the Empress had appointed M. Panin a member of the College for Foreign Affairs, and that for the future they were jointly to transact business with the foreign ministers.

This has the appearance of M. Panin's being in effect Great-Chancellor without the title, and is possibly the consequence of his having shewed more complaisance to the Empress's views in Poland than Bestucheff and others. I believe I need not mention to your

[1] Adolf Siegfried von der Osten, Danish envoy to St. Petersburg.

Lordship that M. Panin's advancement may give a greater degree of influence to his Prussian Majesty at this Court.

From H. Grenville to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, &c. &c.

Constantinople: November 10, 1763.

. . . We rejoyce that your Lordship finds the means of passing your time agreeably and with satisfaction to yourself; I never doubted of your Lordship's having the means to make it pass agreeably to others. As for ourselves, we certainly have not much to boast of on the chapter of pleasures and agreeablenesses here. This is no country of delight and joy, nor of all the glories of the East do I know one, that you can possibly envy us the possession of, unless it be our sunshine, our figgs, and melons.

. . . Whatever is fair, and lovely, and of sweet allurement is here shut up in impenetrable *harems*, inaccessible as the Grand Signior, watched and guarded as his dearest treasure. If there are Fatimas here, they exist only in those recesses or in Lady Mary Wortley's description. I, alas! have seen no Fatima here, nor has Mrs. Grenville, though she has made more attempts than one, and being priviledged by her sex has had better and easyer opportunities. We have not yet seen even Lady Mary's book;[1] it has been many months coming from England, nor is it yet come. All we at present know of it is from extracts in the publick papers; the descriptions we have read there appear more the luxurious paintings of an imagination, fertile and lively like hers, than a strict relation of matters of fact; but before our pilgrimage in this *unholy land* is finished we will endeavour to be better informed. . . .

But I must not forget that I am writing to a grave ambassador, and that *your Excellency* wishes to be informed from me of the present dispositions of the Ottoman Court; how far they incline to war or peace. I write without cypher, not knowing whether our cyphers correspond, and therefore must not venture at too open an explanation on this subject. Nor is it a subject easy to explain; their system has hitherto been a pacifick one, and in spite of all that publick gazettes may say seemed likely to continue so, but the Vizier is just now deposed, and a new successor named, though not

[1] The Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 'written during her travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa to persons of distinction,' etc., were published in this year.

yet arrived from Aleppo.[1] What his dispositions are remains to be seen, and what new scenes may open shortly is not easy to guess. He is active and able, well versed in the affairs of this Empire, and a man of enterprise, resolution, and spirit. What makes the scene more complicated is the death of the King of Poland, an event very interesting to the tranquillity of Europe in general, and the affairs in the north in particular, and an object which very much engages the attention of the Porte in the present hour, which has for some time past been not a little uneasy on account of a treaty supposed to be carrying on (and, as the Porte will have it, actually concluded) between the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin, imagining it to have in view the future succession of Poland; but whether any such treaty really exists or not is not positively known here, how confident soever the Porte may be. In the meantime the Grand Signior has sent an Envoy Extraordinary to Berlin; but this is no extraordinary measure, but constantly practised by the Porte on occasion of a new minister's first establishment here, which is the case of the King of Prussia; the presents he carries with him are certainly very magnificent.

Mr. Mitchell to the Same.

Berlin: Thursday, November 10, 1768.

. . . As Prince Dolguruki informs me that he intends to redispatch this day the officer who brought the present of Astracan fruit from the Empress of Russia to his Prussian Majesty, I could not let slip this opportunity of telling your Excellency that nothing material has happened here since my last of the 2nd instant, nor have I yet received any letters from England. The King of Prussia, I hear, made a present of a gold snuff box and a hundred ducats to the Russian officer that brought the present of Astracan fruit.

Yesterday Achmet Effendi, the Turkish Internonce, made his entry into this capital, a description of which your Excellency has in the inclosed Gazette. [*Cypher*] I have no news whatever from Poland, but I am informed here that the Empress of Russia has ordered her ambassador, M. Keyserling, at Warsaw, to declare that she wishes the publick tranquillity to be preserved and that if the Poles will agree amongst themselves to chuse a Piast for King she

[1] Mustapha Aga. He was a friend of Achmet Effendi, and Frederic II. flattered himself that he might be gained through him. See *Polit. Corr.* xxiii. 224.

will not meddle in the election, provided that the election be made according to the laws and constitutions of Poland, and free from all foreign influence. Your Lordship will best know whether this news be founded. I mentioned in my last the jealousy of the Court of Vienna with regard to the union between her Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia. Another ground of suspicion now arises from the arrival of the Turkish Internonce, who the Austrians pretend to say is charged not only with power of confirming the Treaty of Commerce, but also with negotiating a Treaty of Alliance between the Porte and his Prussian Majesty, which they say has already given jealousy to the Court of Petersburg. Though I give very little credit to this report I thought proper to mention it to your Lordship. [*Cypher ends.*]

The King of Prussia arrived here two days ago from Potzdam, and gave an audience to M. de Goltz, who delivered his new letters of credence as Envoy from the Elector of Saxony. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick [1] has been some days at Potzdam on a visit to his Prussian Majesty, and he tells me that he intends very soon to set out for England, where I hope the intended marriage will be very soon completed.

Lord Sandwich to the Same.

Whitehall: November 11, 1763.

. . . [*Cypher*] In answer to that part of your interesting dispatch of the 14th in relation to the desire the Czarina has expressed of having a British minister immediately dispatched to the Court of Sweden, I am ordered by his Majesty to acquaint you that the King, always attentive to the interest of his Ally, is ready to co-operate with the ideas of her I.M. as far as the mutual advantages of the Crowns are concerned and the dignity of his Majesty's own will permit it. The very improper and indecent behaviour of the Swedish Ministry in return to the repeated advances made on the part of Great Britain to renew the former correspondence with that Court is too notorious to admit of any allegations, and the loose and insufficient manner in which they have hinted at their desire of seeing a British minister at that Court does not carry with it that air of sincerity which the King

[1] Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, m. the Princess Augusta, sister of George III., Jan. 16, 1764.

expects, nor that satisfaction which his Majesty's dignity requires. Your Lordship sees by the inclosed copy of my letter to Sir John Goodricke his Majesty's sentiments upon this subject, and you will thereby be enabled to give the clearest proofs to her Imperial Majesty of the King's great moderation on the one side and his attention to the desire of his Ally on the other side by the just and reasonable terms which are offered the Court of Sweden. It is necessary to observe to your Lordship that we believe the reasoning and conjectures, which you will find in the inclosed instructions to Sir John Goodricke from various intelligence which we have received, to be too well founded. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Same to Sir John Goodricke.

[*Enclosure.*] October 28, 1763.

[*Cypher*] I immediately laid before the King your letters of the 1st and 11th inst., in the last of which you give an account of the overtures made to you by Mons^r^ Faxel for the reciprocal mission of ministers to London and Stockholm, and transmit a minute you took of what that gentleman had said, which he acknowledged as exact. His Majesty, having taken this matter into consideration, has commanded me to acquaint you that, after the very indecent returns made by the Swedish Ministry to repeated advances on the part of Great Britain to renew the former correspondence with that Court, the King does not think it consistent with the dignity of his Crown to pay any attention to a loose verbal declaration made with so much precaution of not giving anything in writing, as carrys an appearance of being calculated to leave a door open to disavow whatever may be passed on this subject. His Majesty sees no ground as yet to make any alterations in the orders sent you in the Earl of Halifax's letter of the 9th past, and repeated in mine of the 7th instant, and you will accordingly acquaint Mons^r^ Faxel that you are still directed to adhere to these orders, and that nothing can induce his Majesty to change this resolution, but some authentick overture in writing on the part of Sweden and the immediate nomination of such a minister to reside at this Court as shall be acceptable to the King, and not the proposing persons whom there may be reasons to

suppose beforehand his Majesty must object to, as was the case of those Mons[r] Faxel alludes to as having been formerly nominated.

In case, on your making this declaration, Mons[r] Faxel shall give you sufficient reasons to hope that the Court of Sweden will comply with this just and moderate expectation of the King's, his Majesty is pleased to allow you to remain where you are, till an answer can be received from Stockholm; but if that answer shall prove unsatisfactory, or be delayed beyond a necessary time, you will instantly leave Copenhagen without applying for fresh instructions or transmitting any proposal short of what the King is determined to insist on—the actual and immediate nomination of a proper minister to his Court. When such a person shall be so far appointed and shall set out for London, I then authorise you to repair to Stockholm in the same character that shall be given to the Swedish minister. The period of time which the Court of Sweden has at last chose to insinuate this overture is very remarkable, and has much the air of a proceeding more from a view of amusing the King for their own purpose than from any sincere intention of reconciliation. The distress the finances in Sweden labour under from the non-payment of the subsidies due from the difficulty the Senate have brought themselves into, from the unjust means they have employed to supply this deficiency and the little encouragement they have yet had to expect that relief from France which their urgent necessities absolutely demand, are circumstances so well known, that it is not unnatural to suppose that the Swedish Ministry may flatter themselves that the appearance of renewing an intercourse with Great Britain may raise such a jealousy and alarm as possibly to induce the Court of France to make an effort to preserve their influence in Sweden, which they might lose entirely, was a British minister to be admitted to Stockholm. In this juncture it may be, therefore, very important for the French partisans in that country to prevent, if possible, your leaving Copenhagen just now, the reason of your having so long resided there being too notorious not to afford that faction ample room to make any ungratefull use of the King's long patience. His Majesty, however, is determined not to be trifled with any more, and therefore expects that you do obey the orders now transmitted to you. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg, November 15 (N.S.), 1768.

It will appear in the course of my dispatches that I have spared no pains to induce her Imperial Majesty (consistently with the friendship and confidence she so strongly professes, but which she has hitherto so little proved) to explain her intentions in relation to the Crown of Poland.[1] Your Lordship will also perceive what reserved and unsatisfactory answers I have received as well from the Empress as her ministers.

The Vice-Chancellor was pleased to tell me yesterday that her Imperial Majesty had nothing so much at heart as to preserve the liberties of the Republick of Poland, and in that view she intended as far as possible to promote the election of a native, more especially as the majority of the Poles justly feared that the chusing a third Prince of Saxony must inevitably make the Crown hereditary in a family now so greatly strengthened by their near connection with the House of Bourbon. He added that he imagined the Empress Queen, France, and Spain would have different views from this Court.

The Treaty of Alliance seems now to be little thought of. As to the Treaty of Commerce, I hope it will be entered upon within this month. Their propositions in relation to the first were so new and unexpected, and it is so much the present temper of the Russians to take every little advantage from foreigners, that, notwithstanding the assurances which have been given me, and I believe from good authority, at times I am very anxious for the event.

I heard from Berlin that a report prevailed in that city of there having been a fresh insurrection here; it was without the least foundation. Everything has been quiet for some time past, or else I should certainly have taken notice of it. My constant attention shall never be wanting either to the external or internal affairs of this country, but when his Majesty and his ministers consider the present situation of the Government from the state I have given of it, they will be sensible that it may be very difficult

[1] Catherine had on October 6 communicated to Frederic of Prussia that Poniatowski was the man on whom her choice had fallen. On November 1 Frederic wrote his approval of her choice. (See *Polit. Corresp. F. des II^ten*, xxiii. 167, 168.)

for me to penetrate a secret which escapes the knowledge of those whose all depends on the discovery. I can only say in general that I do not at this time foresee any event, but must add I should not be surprised if it happened. There was no suspicion of the last disturbances at Moscow till betrayed almost at the moment of the execution.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Petersburg: November 22, 1763.

[I have reason to believe that the Empress and the King of Prussia are determined to support the election of a Piast, but am not only persuaded in my own mind, but have also the strongest assurances, that there has never been the least intention of dismembering the Republick of Poland. I cannot think that Prince Henry has ever been mentioned by the King of Prussia as a candidate, and am very sure this Court would never attend to any such proposition. Everything here is very quiet. The Empress has been so much indisposed as not to appear for some days.] Prince Repnin set out for Warsaw on Sunday morning.

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: November 23 (N.S.), 1763.

I was on Saturday evening with M. Panin. He opened the conference by a long narrative of the circumstances that gave rise to the former Treaty of Alliance,[1] and mentioned that the great object of the then Russian Ministry in that negotiation was artfully to reconcile the Empress Elizabeth to the Court of Vienna and Saxony; to the first of which she had for many reasons conceived a very great dislike. That England came into these measures, as she considered her interests indissolubly united with those of the House of Austria. That the great proof that this Ministry principally considered that family is, that from the moment the Courts of Vienna and London acted upon separate plans, it put an immediate end to all cordiality between the latter and this country, but that the present projected treaty was to be considered in a very different light, as he could most solemnly assure me that

[1] That of 1742.

her Imperial Majesty in uniting herself with England had no view but the common interests of England and Russia only.

I expressed great satisfaction at the latter part of what he had said, and after some observations upon the other points I entered into the objections to several parts of their project, and complained a little of the long delay of the Treaty of Commerce, and the silence of her Imperial Majesty with regard to her views in Poland, more especially as I had reason to believe she had opened herself very fully upon that subject to the persons principally concerned very early in her reign. After a short pause he acquainted me that Count Poniatowski was her Imperial Majesty's candidate, and added that as I was the first to be acquainted with it [1] he begged the strictest secrecy might be observed. We then entered into a discussion of the proposed alterations in the Treaty of Alliance. He seemed to give up the point in relation to Turkey, but as he persisted upon the other articles I got up, and after assuring him of my real concern to find that there was so little prospect of bringing so desirable a measure to a conclusion I was preparing to take my leave. He stopt me and said he did not see that the difficulties between us were insurmountable, and then mentioned the very great expense that the affairs of Poland and Sweden would unavoidably bring upon this country, and asked me if I thought my Court might be induced to assist her Imperial Majesty with a sum of money. I answered immediately that I was far from having any reason to believe that his Majesty would come into any position of that sort, that his Excellency must be sensible how greatly the treasures of England had been exhausted by the late war, and that it was not to be expected that she would engage in a further expense, especially in a cause where her own interests were not concerned.

He observed in his answer that surely it was an object to England to prevent Sweden from becoming an absolute monarchy, and that if Russia was not easy with regard to the state of that country and Poland her alliance would be of very little consequence to any European Power.

We afterwards spoke of the Treaty of Commerce, in which he seemed to promise great facilities, and told me he hoped that in a month at latest it might be entered upon. He also discussed several points of it, upon which he seemed to reason candidly.

[1] See dispatch of November 15, p. 105, note.

When I left him he said that he was desirous of communicating our conversation to the Empress before I wrote to my Court, but that, as she was ill, he feared he should not have an opportunity; time enough for him to see me before the Tuesday's post, but that he would pass the evening of that day with me and forward my dispatches this morning by estafette till they overtook the post.

M. Panin came to me last night, according to his promise, and after mentioning that the Empress seemed disposed to give way with regard to Turkey, and possibly also would consent that the article in relation to Spain should stand as in the former treaty, he said that she had directed him to desire me to propose formally to my Court to assist her with a sum of money, and hinted at 500,000 roubles. I repeated to him what I had mentioned upon that subject in the former conversation, and insinuated further that I had been cautioned against giving in to any ideas of that nature, adding that though my respect for her Imperial Majesty was such, that I knew not how to refuse mentioning anything that came directly from her, yet I hoped it would be fully and clearly explained that I had great reason to suppose such a proposition would not be agreed to.

I plainly perceived that it was intended I should understand that an acquiescence in this point would make everything else easy, but was afraid to attempt to make M. Panin explain himself more fully, least it should have too much the appearance of giving in to this new idea, more especially as, if his Majesty should be induced to consent to it, he will always be at liberty to make such stipulations as he pleases. I am by no means a competent judge of the expediency of complying with the demands of her Imperial Majesty, but it seems evident that a refusal will prevent the Treaty of Alliance from being concluded upon the terms prescribed to me by your Lordship's instructions.[1]

I asked M. Panin if her Imperial Majesty had concluded any treaty with other Powers. He solemnly assured me of the contrary, and when I spoke to him of the declaration made by Count Guerchy he said that there never had been the most distant idea of dismembring the Republick of Poland, and that I should soon see a rescript which would strongly disavow any such intentions. He talked to me as being the person principally trusted by her

[1] Lord Buckinghamshire afterwards maintained that the refusal to accede to this request was the cause of the failure of his mission. (See vol. i. Preface, p. vii.)

Imperial Majesty, and desired me not to mention some parts of our conversation to the Vice-Chancellor. His behaviour to me is most cordial and confidential, and he expresses in the strongest terms his regard for the English nation. He is now considered as first minister. I would have forwarded this dispatch by express, but thought it would have that appearance, which I have so cautiously avoided, of my imagining that my Court would come into this last proposal.

I have had very little time to draw up this long paper, but cannot conclude it without expressing my full sense of his Majesty's goodness in relation to my recall, and though certainly I could otherwise wish to return at the time mentioned, I should be very sorry to leave this Court if any circumstances made my stay necessary for his Majesty's service.

The Empress has had a cold attended with a slight fever for some days past. The Great Duke seems in perfect health.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: November 25 (N.S), 1763.

I had last night some conversation with the Vice-Chancellor, whose present language varys greatly from the style of those assertions which fell from him a few weeks past and are mentioned in my dispatch of October 28. He now seems to agree with me that the Empress Queen is strongly connected with France, and is not likely to return to the old system so long as Count Caunitz continues in her favour.

I was assured yesterday that the Prussian minister at Warsaw lately insinuated that he only waited till the treaty was signed between his Court and that of Petersburg to declare, that it was his master's intention to act in the affairs of Poland in concert with the Empress of Russia. If this is true your Lordship will have heard of it from Mr. Wroughton before this time. In my last dispatch I took notice that M. Panin had assured me that his Court had not concluded any treaty whatsoever, nor can I by all the perquisitions I can make discover that a treaty with Prussia is either settled or signed. The Court of Denmark is very solicitous upon that head, but their minister is at present as much in the dark as myself.

As far as I can discover the general views of this Court the

plan seems to be to make use of the King of Prussia in the affairs of Poland, yet not to break with the Empress Queen, but as far as possible to keep upon tolerable terms with both those powers; to oppose the French party in Sweden, and studiously to guard against an event they greatly fear—that Government's becoming an absolute monarchy. They also wish ultimately to force the King of Denmark to relinquish his connections with France. I cannot but be of opinion that her Imperial Majesty sets a high value upon her commercial as well as political engagements with England, but am at the same time fully persuaded that she will spare no pains in every instance to make as advantageous an agreement for herself as possible.

M. Panin's interest is very powerfull, and I think he has a great probability of maintaining his situation.

By a paragraph in your Lordship's last dispatch I should imagine his Majesty would wish that this Court did not engage too deeply with the King of Prussia, and cannot therefore observe without concern that her Imperial Majesty's objects in Poland make his assistance so essential to her. The Empress is so well as to appear in publick.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: December 2 (N.S.), 1763.

I mentioned lately to the Vice-Chancellor the declaration said to have been made by the King of Prussia's minister at Warsaw, which I took notice of in my dispatch of the 25th of last month.[1] He said he had heard nothing of it, and that he could not suppose it was true. He added that the Empress had the greatest reason to be satisfyed with the conduct of his Prussian Majesty in every instance. I told him that I had acquainted my Court with the assurances given me both by himself and M. Panin that the treaty with that Prince was not signed, or even in any great degree of forwardness. He answered that it was very true, as her Imperial Majesty's intention was to have concluded with England first, but that there seemed to be too many difficulties, and then let drop some words distantly hinting, as if he feared that now the Empress might be obliged to take other engagements. I could only say that I hoped not.

[1] See p. 109

My situation is very embarrassing. I see evidently that his Majesty is desirous of concluding an alliance with this Court, and that he does not wish that they should connect themselves too strongly with the King of Prussia, yet I cannot say anything tending to promote the one or to prevent the other without deviating from my instructions and appearing at least to give in to the partial stipulations exacted by their projected treaty.

The conduct of the King of Prussia in Poland may be accounted for by his desire to prevent the family of Saxony from being continued upon that throne, as well as from his thinking his interest essentially concerned in detaching this country from their connections with Vienna, yet certainly he will make use of this opportunity, when he finds himself so necessary for the securing of the views of her Imperial Majesty, to settle a treaty with her and not content himself with vague and general professions of friendship only.

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

The Hague: December 6, 1763.

[*Cypher*] Your Lordship confirms all the accounts we had received from other places of the concerns between Russia and Prussia with regard to Poland, and from the present appearance one is to suppose they will carry their point in favour of whatever candidate they fix upon. The Turkish Envoy Extraordinary who is now at Berlin has, however, endeavoured to make it believed, as well in his passage through Poland as at the Court of Berlin, that the Porte would support a free election and not suffer the smallest dismembering. We do not yet see whether the suspicions of a partition are founded. My friend Sir James Porter constantly says the Turks will certainly not interfere under the present Grand Vizir. It is, however, remarkable that the Ottoman Porte does not renew the treaty with Austria and that people more suspicious than me suspect the Tartars may be let loose against Russia in the spring. If such designs are brewing your Lordship will know them first, but till such time as you see them I shall be incredulous. The Elector Palatine[1] has a hankering too after this Polish Crown, but his pursuance is too shallow, and I partly look upon the pretensions of Saxony and Palatine as advanced just now as much to

[1] Karl Theodor.

carry some points at the election of the King of the Romans as with any serious view to the Crown of Poland, which they seem not to have the least chance for; but those two houses [*Cypher defective*] lost too much when they filled the Imperial Throne before. The King of Prussia on this occasion is courted by all parties and seems to hold the balance. I most heartily agree with you in opinion about the consequences of the Bourbon Alliance joined with Austria. The same farce is acted here in a less degree between the ministers of that alliance as at your Court. The end must be an union between Great Britain and the great Northern Powers, and with that balance (to the southern confederacy?), when once our affairs have taken some consistency at home, which they seem to be doing, and that France begins a little to recover, we must of course fall into the idea your Lordship suggests, for there is none other safe or reasonable. The Prince of Orange will be of age in two years, and I will not doubt (having no reason for it) but that this country will unite in our cause. At present the House of Austria and the House of Bourbon are too low in cash to look awry, and the election of the King of the Romans will drain the former still more. I am much obliged to you for mentioning that the Prince of Brunswick exists. If anything comes to your knowledge concerning their persons or their fate you will do me a particular favour in giving me a hint on the subject. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Parliaments of France persist in their obstinacy relative to the last edicts about the finances, and the Court seems desirous to conciliate matters with them, by summoning them to give their advice to the Crown by deputies from each of those bodies; that of Rouen embarrasses the most, because the members have resigned their employments, and it was not yet determined how to proceed with them.

We flatter ourselves that the marriage between the Lady Augusta and the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick will be compleated early in the approaching new year. The message about the portion was to be sent to Parliament in a few days; it had been delayed in order to clear away the strange affair of Mr. John Wilkes.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: December 6 (N.S.), 1763.

The Empress is at Sarsko-Seloe. Yesterday was her name day, and I thought it right upon that occasion to pay my compliments to the Great Duke, with whom I had the honour of dining. The ministers of Denmark and Holland were also there.

Bestucheff is received at Court with civility, but is considered as having no longer any share in her Imperial Majesty's confidence. The Austrian ambassador is supposed to have influenced him in the advice he gave her with regard to Poland, which has been his ruin. When he pressed the Empress to support the interest of the House of Saxony, she asked him if he had forgot that when the affairs of Courland were in agitation he had urged the inconveniences which might arise if a country limitroph to Russia was governed by a sovereign allied and connected with the great European Powers, and if he did not think that a King of Poland might be full as dangerous as a Duke of Courland.

The Empress is dissatisfied to a great degree with the Court of Vienna, and the impression she conceived from the declaration made by their minister (of their inclination to promote the election of the Elector of Saxony in Poland) has not been softened by a soothing letter which I am assured her Imperial Majesty has received from the Empress Queen.

Your Lordship will perceive that every circumstance concurs to strengthen the King of Prussia's influence here. M. Panin told me yesterday that he had just received an account from Sweden that it had been determined to send a minister to England.[1]

Lord Stormont to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Vienna: December 7, 1763.

[*Cypher*] I was extremely glad to find that the Vice-Chancellor has so favourable an opinion of the disposition of this Court. I cannot, however, say that I have as yet found any strong indication of it. I see enough to be persuaded that there are many friends to the old system, but not enough to convince

[1] Nolken's appointment as Swedish envoy to England was formally confirmed in the end of November 1763. (See Wilkinson's letters of November 29, *P. R. O. Sweden*, vol. 127.)

me that Count Caunitz, in whom the whole power centers, leans that way. He carries himself with great personal civility to me, but has not as yet touched upon any points of business. I had already heard of the intention of your Court with regard to Poland, and have no doubt that the Empress of Russia will carry her point, if she acts with spirit and steadiness. This Court have already endeavoured to divert her from that resolution, and may possibly continue those endeavours, but as soon as they see that her Imperial Majesty is fixed in her resolution I cannot but believe that they will stop there, without embarking in support of so desperate a cause as that of the Elector of Saxony's seems to be.

When I left England the ministry were in hourly expectation of receiving from your Lordship the Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, but as you make no mention of them I am afraid you have not yet been able to complete that great work in which nobody wishes you more success than I do. [*End of Cyphèr.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: December 9 (N.S.), 1763.

Each day now brings fresh proofs of an increasing coolness between this Court and that of Vienna; amongst others it has been lately hinted to me that Count Orlow has declined the being made a Prince of the Empire. Very slender indeed must be the interest of the Empress Queen when even the Vice-Chancellor seems to give it up.

From all the general accounts I receive, as well as from the conduct of their ministers here, it appears evident that the connection between Paris and Vienna gains strength every day; it is but too obvious an inference from thence that there is no present probability of a cordial renewal of the former engagements of England with the House of Austria. It also seems to me by my letters from Berlin and the behaviour of the Prussian minister to me, that his Prussian Majesty's friendship to the Court of Great Britain is not without reserve. This country, however desirous in general of living in friendship with him, was far from intending to contract any strong engagements, but I am concerned to think how far the arduous undertakings she has now embraced may compell the Empress to fall into the views of a Prince who has talents fully to avail himself of every opportunity.

I shall execute to the best of my abilities such instructions as his Majesty is pleased to give me, but should be at this time greatly embarrassed if it was put upon me to advise what those instructions should be. It is indeed but too evident that the Empress considers herself as the only ally that England can at this time depend on, and therefore thinks she may make her own terms.

The Princess d'Ashkow is arrived here. M. Panin, who had promised to sup with me on Tuesday last, made his excuses, which I was afterwards informed was to have an opportunity of being with her. It will require all his flegm and authority to keep her active spirit in a tolerable state of tranquillity. I wait with some sort of impatience to see the reception she receives at Court. I shall obey the directions which have been given me in relation to the customs; it seems to be the intention of the foreign ministers to accept of the deduction. At the time I wrote upon that subject I imagined the foreign ministers in England payed no duties whatsoever.

The Same to Lord Stormont.

December 13 (N.S.), 1763.

The declarations of the Court of Vienna in relation to the Elector of Saxony has produced great coolness here, and the language of the ministers is now greatly different from that which they held at the time I last wrote to you. . . . I cannot conclude this letter without observing that, notwithstanding the different parts they are disposed to act at this juncture, the connection of this country with the House of Austria is so natural, and the friends of that family so numerous, that ultimately they will probably renew their former engagements. Yet so long as the strict union with France and Spain, that great and meritorious work of Count Caunitz's, subsists there will necessarily be a want of cordiality and confidence here.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Tuesday, December 13, 1763.

[*Cypher*] Here we know nothing with regard to the election of the King of Poland; only it is said that the Empress of Russia has named Count Poniatowski for that dignity, and not Prince

Czartoryski, as was at first reported. This news comes from Vienna. The distinguished reception which Achmet Effendi, the Turkish Internonce, has met with here, his having passed six days at Potzdam and dispatched from thence a courier to Constantinople has occasioned a report that the said Achmet is charged with a commission to negotiate a defensive treaty between the Ottoman Porte and the King of Prussia, but I cannot persuade myself that his Prussian Majesty will enter into any engagement with the Turks, without having first consulted measures with the Empress of Russia. If, therefore, your Lordship can discover anything concerning this defensive treaty I beg the favour you will communicate the same, for nothing is so difficult to be obtained as intelligence at this Court, where the ministers employed are frequently not in the secret. I have good reason to believe that the Court of Vienna are greatly alarmed on account of the King of Prussia's transactions with the Turks, but more particularly since the news of the defensive treaty has been spread, nor can I imagine that the Empress of Russia will with an indifferent eye behold an alliance of that kind which consequently must render the King of Prussia as well as the Ottoman Porte more formidable to the Court of Petersburg and to the House of Austria.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: December 13 (N.S.), 1763.

The Imperial ambassador is to have his audience of leave on Monday next. Count Oginski, a Pole of great distinction and a particular friend of the Czartoryski family, has been here about a week. The ostensible reason of his coming to this Court is to thank her Imperial Majesty for the Order of St. Andrew, but he is probably commissioned to treat of points of a much more serious nature. The Empress shows him great distinctions; it is said that he is not to remain here above six weeks, as his presence may be necessary in Poland.

In consequence of your Lordship's last dispatch I have had some conversation as well with M. Panin as the Vice-Chancellor upon the affairs of Sweden. They both assured me that the late advances made to England were the consequence of the efforts of their friends and the anti-French party. I told them that, if the minister appointed was agreeable to his Britannic Majesty, Sir

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John Goodricke had orders to repair to Stockholm as soon as he was acquainted with his departure for England. The misery of the Swedes at this time is inexpressible. I was lately assured that the roads were so much infested by the peasants, who were obliged to rob for subsistence, that some persons who were going to Stockholm had received letters from their friends most earnestly dissuading them from venturing upon the journey.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: December 16 (N.S.), 1763.

[M. Panin acquainted me yesterday that, as it appeared to her Imperial Majesty, from Count Woronzow's dispatches, he has behaved upon several occasions with too much vivacity without any instructions from his Court, that, least his conduct might make any bad impression upon a sovereign to whom it was her desire upon every occasion to express the greatest friendship and attention, she had determined to remove him to the Hague, and to appoint M. Gross to replace him in England. I told him that in the course of my correspondence I had never met with any complaint of M. Woronzow's behaviour, and that all my private letters mentioned him as a very amiable young man. He then said that he hoped the English ministry would not mortify him so far as to discover that they were acquainted with the cause of his recall, and that they would make his disgrace as light to him as possible.]

I afterwards took notice as well to M. Panin as the Vice-Chancellor of my having formerly heard that M. Gross was not a person agreeable to my Court; they answered me that, as the objections made to him at the time were only upon account of the King of Prussia, they must now, from the alteration of circumstances, necessarily cease, and that he was an able and a discreet minister. M. Panin spoke also to me upon the affairs of Poland, said he hoped England would assist them, and declared in the strongest terms that there was not the least foundation for the reports which had been so industriously spread of there being an intention of taking this occasion to dismember the republick. He added that her Imperial Majesty was very much dissatisfied at those who had propagated so invidious a suggestion, hinting farther that he believed they originally took their rise from the

Austrian and French ministers here. His Prussian Majesty's zeal in the cause at first gave me some suspicions, but I am now persuaded they were groundless.

The Government keep all the silver they receive and make their payments in copper even to those departments to which hitherto they have always delivered roubles. The disputes with the Chinese, which have some time subsisted, grow warmer daily.

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whitehall: December 20, 1763.

[*Cypher*] Your Lordship's dispatch of November 23 having been received and laid before the King, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that his Majesty highly approves of the manner in which you answered to the proposal made by M. Panin upon the subject of the projected treaty. Your Lordship will continue the same language with regard to their idea of receiving any pecuniary aid from Great Britain, which neither the present situation of affairs in Europe nor the state of a country just at the end of a bloody and most expensive war, nor the necessities of an alliance gives any room to expect or desire. His Majesty having so often expressed his readiness to cement a cordial and friendly union with the Court of Russia, it depends upon them to facilitate all such measures as may tend to bring it to a happy conclusion, but it is neither consistent with his Majesty's dignity, nor does the situation of his Majesty's kingdoms require, that the King should purchase or solicit an alliance in which the interests of Russia are at least as much concerned as those of Great Britain. As to the affair of Poland, the King can do no more than his good wishes for the success of the views declared by her Imperial Majesty with regard to a successor to that Crown, that no dismemberment may be made of the Polish dominions, and that the election may be free and according to the laws of the republick; yet I cannot but observe to your Lordship that there seems a great want of confidence on the part of the Czarina that she should not declare her intentions with regard to Count Poniatowski till his Majesty had received repeated intelligence of it from many different quarters. I must now inform your Lordship that the King has condescended to the overtures made by the Court of Sweden, and will send Sir John Goodricke to Stockholm, with

the rank of Envoy Extraordinary, as soon as that Court shall have appointed and declared the person destined to repair to London in the same character. You will take the earliest opportunity of acquainting the Czarina with this fresh mark of his Majesty's friendship and attention to what she judges so essential to the interest of her Crown. It seems necessary to inform your Excellency that Count Woronzow's behaviour is of late greatly altered, for he not only enters in the cabals and factions of this country, but communicates in his capacity of minister with those who are most opposed to measures and are most active in endeavouring to obstruct the King's servants in the execution of their respective duties. From these communications it is much to be apprehended that the language which he holds to his Court is such as is not likely to establish an union of councils between England and Russia.[1] You will therefore be upon your guard with respect to what may come from this gentleman, and without complaining in form will make a cautious use at proper times and place of the intelligence I am sending. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: December 23 (N.S.), 1763.

In a conversation I have had this evening with M. Panin he gave me to understand that the treaty with the King of Prussia was in a degree of forwardness. I asked him if it was not intended to communicate the terms to my Court. He told me that her Imperial Majesty would never conceal her engagements from her friends. I then desired to know in what it differed from the late Czar's treaty. He told me that the same alteration was

[1] **The tendency of Woronzow's dispatches was against the projected alliance between England and Russia. He reported that 'England never made a political alliance but in accordance with the interests of her trade,' that 'the English Ministry were much more occupied in supporting an election of an M.P. for Essex than in any events upon the Continent,' and that the instability of the Government made an alliance unadvisable: for even if they yielded in the matter of Turkey they could not be depended upon to keep faith; it was too much against their interests. (See Woronzow's letters to Galitzin of December 3, 1763, and to Panin, December 29 (N.S.), 1763, Add. MSS. B.M. 32888, 'Decyphered Letters of Russian Ambassadors.')**

to be made with regard to the provisions of the soldiers as required in the projected Treaty of Alliance with England, and also that there were some stipulations relative to the affairs of Poland (also Turkey).

It is unnecessary for me to observe the alteration that the connection with his Prussian Majesty must make in the political system of this country. As to our Treaty of Commerce, the consideration of it is put off from day to day, and a friend in whom I have confidence assures me that it will be the middle of January before they have received those reports from their different commercial towns without which it is their determination not to come to any conclusion. The Great Duke is better, but still in bed and the fever not off.

The Same to Lord Stormont.

Petersburg: December 27, 1763.

. . . . The Treaty of Alliance between this Court and the King of Prussia is actually under consideration, and said to be nearly concluded, but possibly the usual dilatoriness of the Russians, which has still attended me in all my negotiations, may also wait upon that transaction. The friends of the House of Austria are silenced for the present, and the King of Prussia at the moment is everything here.[1] Yet if I can form any judgment of that apparent cordiality which exists between that Prince and her Imperial Majesty they will each be ready to drop the other the moment their purpose is served. So long, however, as the French system prevails at Vienna, so long probably their connection will subsist.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: December 27 (N.S.), 1763.

I was with the Vice-Chancellor yesterday, and entered into the possible consequences of the late change of Ministry in Turkey, and how far the Porte might or might not interfere in the affairs of Poland. I also took notice that this new Vizier had the character

[1] Yet the King of Prussia was still uncertain as to the real policy of Panin, and suspected that he was being amused with the project of a treaty with Russia until that Government had succeeded in their plans for Poland. (See Frederic to the Count de Solms, December 17, 1763, vol. xxiii. *Polit. Corres.*)

of a busy, enterprising man, and was esteemed a very good officer. I dwelt also upon what might be the consequence at this time of the French intrigues at that Court, especially when the first Minister was of a turn to wish for an opportunity of distinguishing himself in his military capacity. He answered that they were under no fears from that quarter, but that these might be very serious considerations to the House of Austria. I did not choose to observe to him how much in this instance he had forgot the present situation, and that though formerly through French influence the Turks had been instigated to attack the dominions of the House of Austria, at this time most probably the operation of that influence would be directed another way. Upon the whole, whatever they may advance to the contrary, I cannot but think that the Russian Ministry feel some sort of anxiety upon this subject.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: December 30 (N.S.), 1763.

An account was brought me yesterday that there was some uneasiness amongst the Guards, but I hope it is no more than the usual spirit of discontent by which that corps has always distinguished itself.

Some persons here are of opinion that Bestucheff may again come into power; the reason they give for it is his being the only person in the country who has any competent idea of the general state of Europe, but his advanced age, his visibly imparing abilities, and above all his attachment to a system so repugnant to the present views of her Imperial Majesty, make it rather improbable that he should ever again act a principal part.

The Empress in appearance makes light of the reports of the disputes with the Chinese, which it is insinuated arise from their own intestine divisions; yet I am assured that General Springer, whom she has lately sent to command upon the borders, received his instructions immediately from her, and written in her own hand. At my first arrival the Chinese Embassy was the principal subject of conversation, which now seems in a manner forgot; it is true a person was sent previously to settle some matter of etiquette who is not as yet returned, but certainly, if they expected that his report would be a favourable one, the destined ambassadors would not have dropped all conversation upon the subject.

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whitehall: December 30, 1763.

Though I have nothing in particular in command from his Majesty, yet I cannot omit sending your Excellency an extract of a letter from Sir Joseph Yorke, who had received directions from me to make a strict inquiry about certain emigrants, whom Count Woronzow had collected together in this country, and shipped off in a clandestine manner as colonists for some part of the Russian dominions.

Your Excellency will find, by the injudicious manner in which this affair was carried on, that the Court of Petersburg will not be much disposed to applaud the abilities and management of their minister here, but they will have much greater reason to blame his conduct for taking a step so contrary to his duty, and so inconsistent with the friendship which subsists between the Courts, as to withdraw any people from this country, whether natives or foreigners, without the express consent and permission of the Government.

Your Excellency will take a proper opportunity, without entering into a formal complaint, to make the Court of Russia sensible, by this fresh instance of their minister's disrespectful intentions towards this Government, how little qualified he is to promote that harmony and intimate union between Great Britain and Russia which has long been the object of both Courts.

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Enclosure.*] Hague: December 28, 1763.

. . . The time that was necessary at this season to procure an ample and satisfactory account proper to be transmitted to your Lordship of the affair of the ship *Sally*, Alexander Murray master, is the only reason that I have not hitherto troubled your Lordship about it, the most exact information having come to my hands since the last post, and your Lordship's dispatch of the 16th inst., relative to it, yesterday morning.

It appears that the Russian minister in London, from too much zeal to serve his Court, has embarked himself in an improper affair, and it is probable that he will be the dupe of it himself, as the people he had engaged are of too volatile a disposition and of too bad characters in general to be worth receiving in any country,

having neither trade nor art to set up, and being mostly common adventurers, without even an industrious inclination, whom the late circumstances of Europe had sent a-travelling, and who, not finding nor deserving employment in England, embraced any scheme or proposal which could give them an immediate and momentary subsistence.

When the ship *Sally* was first drove into *Ziereck Zee*, the master of her and his correspondent, M. Patoir of that place, addressed themselves to me, and were so far from concealing anything of the affair, or apprehending that they were acting improperly, that they would not apply to the Russian minister, whose direction over them, or jurisdiction, they would on no account agree to. The chiefs of the mutineers, indeed, did wait on M. Gross, but with a view in which they were disappointed, which was to endeavour to procure more money, in order to escape with more ease. [*Cypher*] I have several times spoke to M. Gross upon this affair, who has too much experience and acts with too much caution to give in to such schemes as these, and he confirmed to me very strongly the ignorance and infamous characters of the great part of these emissaries, particularly of the directors, the particulars of which are not worthy of your Lordship's attention. M. Gross too, partly from his knowledge and a little, perhaps, (of jealousy on account of[1]) Count Woronzow's having been sent to his Majesty's Court in his stead, disapproves the whole affair, and said he would write very strongly about it to London, and that he was sure it would be disapproved of at Petersburg, which he was sorry for, as it might prejudice M. Woronzow. [*End of Cypher.*] Upon the whole I am inclined to think that the bad success of the first attempt will disgust the persons engaged from the farther prosecution of it, few in these parts of Europe, who have any possibility of procuring a livelihood, being desirous of transplanting themselves into such distant countries, and it is a little too expensive to send so far such sort of wanderers as have been picked up in London.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: January 3 (N.S.), 1764.

The Vice-Chancellor declared last night to me that the negociations in agitation with the King of Prussia related only to

[1] Cypher defective.

the ensuing election in Poland, and that though the project of a treaty with that Prince had laid three weeks upon M. Panin's table, he believed he had not as yet found leisure to read it. He also mentioned to me that during the time that the Turkish internonce was at Potzdam he had asked his Prussian Majesty for a plan of a treaty with his Court, and immediately after receiving it, despatched it by courier to Constantinople. This led me naturally to ask him if he did not imagine that this connection must with reason alarm the Empress Queen, more particularly at a time when the Court seemed also upon the point of entering into some engagements with that of Berlin. He answered me that he himself saw an alliance between the Turks and the King of Prussia as an event most fatal to the interest of the House of Austria, but that he could not persuade the Empress or M. Panin to consider it in the same light. Your Lordship will perceive from hence that there is as little unanimity as dispatch in the Cabinet of her Imperial Majesty. Bestucheff keeps himself quiet and prepared to avail himself of any event. Count Orlow, though he is understood not to meddle in political matters, is his friend and would possibly try to serve him; yet I should think that, unless some coolness should arise between this Court and the King of Prussia, nothing can at present essentially hurt M. Panin's interest. He has one great advantage from the affection and deference which the Great Duke shows him, who, young as he is, seems already in some sort to feel his situation and think for himself.

I have received no accounts directly from Warsaw, but a foreign minister, who must have the best intelligence from thence, told me on Sunday that the King of Prussia's minister had as yet only declared that his master would not oppose the views of this Court.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: January 9, 1764.

[*Cypher*] Her Imperial Majesty, in the late King of Poland's lifetime, had taken all manner of steps to engage our Court to enter with her into her views relating to this Crown, whenever it should become vacant. I did not doubt but the moment the case existed, she would so much the more strongly renew her solicitations. Our Court has been long expecting it, and the King promised me his orders as soon as he was informed by the Empress

of her present intention. The daily expectation of these orders has been, I confess, the chief reason of my silence, being willing to acquaint you of the nature of what I imagine would be the most interesting to you. By my having received no farther instructions from home I suppose no overtures have been made by the Russian ministers to us; perhaps the Empress, thinking herself sure of the King of Prussia, does not imagine she has any need of us, who by our distance cannot be of any great immediate weight to the interior system of this country. [*End of Cypher.*]

The death of the late Elector of Saxony[1] has somewhat unhinged the party that were united for his interest, they not knowing as yet if either of the remaining Princes of Saxony will declare themselves candidates for this Crown, who, it is said, are waiting for the resolutions of the Courts of Vienna and France. The alternative seems to be between Prince Xavier and his brother Charles. The latter has some friends here by means of the relations of his wife; he has also many fixed and unalterable enemies, which the Administrator[2] has not, who is also the great favourite of the Dauphine; it is pretended that if they see the impossibility of succeeding for themselves they will join all their weight and influence to the friends of the Great General,[3] who is the only national that aspires to the Throne in opposition to the family of Czartoryski; and he, being master of the army, and seconded by the family of Potoffski and Prince Radzivil, will be able to cut out a great deal of work against that family. God grant that the election may pass without any of those consequences which the division and animosity of these two partys seem at this instant to threaten.

[*Cypher*] Here are many people who flatter themselves that the King of Prussia will not remain firmly engaged with the

[1] Frederic Christian, son and successor to Augustus III., died December 17, 1763.

[2] Prince Xavier (1730–1806), second son of Augustus III. of Saxony. His candidature was specially favoured by his sister, Marie Josèphe, who had married the Dauphin in 1747. She was to be the mother of Louis XVI., Louis XVIII. and Charles X.

[3] John Clement Branitzki (or Branicke). He had also the uncertain and vacillating support of the French Government as an alternative to a Saxon prince. He was already over seventy years of age, and to him Catherine probably referred when she mentioned her wish to exclude a Piast who 'had one foot in the grave.' See p. 27, note. He died in 1771.

Empress of Russia, who, besides the opposition she will meet with from her own subjects in placing Poniatowski on the throne,[1] will not on that account be able to march an army into Poland to support him, and without troops the affair is never to be effected, for, partiality apart, the party of the Great General is much more powerful here in my opinion. The Court of Vienna speaks a language very different to each party. To the one she promises to give no opposition, to the other she promises to prevent the entry of all foreign troops, but, as we have seen formerly that the Russian troops have given a decisive turn to the election, I scarcely think that any of the neighbours will engage themselves in a war for the sake of Peter or of Paul, in case they see the Empress of Russia is resolved to carry her views into execution. I should be glad to know from your Lordship the sentiments of the Russian ministers, whether you think they will be able to throw such difficulties in the way that she shall be obliged to desist from her project. Her ministers here say that neither money nor troops shall be wanting. Are her coffers so well supplied with that that she can subsist an army sufficient in a foreign country, and is the object important enough for the interest of her empire that her counsellors should not endeavour to prevent it? [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: January 10 (N.S.), 1764.

I had yesterday a conversation with M. Panin and the Vice-Chancellor, and urged very strongly the entering immediately into the consideration of the Treaty of Commerce; after some excuses for the long delay M. Panin said he would desire the Empress to permit him and the Vice-Chancellor to treat with me directly and to give them Count Münnich and M. Teplow for assistants. This possibly may produce something.

They seem to think that the death of the Elector of Saxony

[1] Simon Romanovitch Woronzow in his *Memoirs* points out that it was really the interest of Russia to support Saxony in Poland, and to maintain the *status quo*, but that everything was sacrificed to Catherine's vanity and passion. Thus Austria and Saxony were alienated, and Russia was thrown into the arms of Prussia, and 'thus was inaugurated the monstrous and ridiculous system of the north, of which Panin was the inventor and by which Prussia only was aggrandised.' (See for this vol. i. p. 97.)

will rather facilitate the Empress's views in Poland. M. Panin took notice to me how much they wished to keep the name of their intended candidate a secret, that as yet very few persons were acquainted with it, and that they had not communicated it to their minister in England. M. Panin expresses the strongest disapprobation of that gentleman's conduct, and lately mentioned that he was sure that if he had remained with us, he would have occasioned a coolness between the two Courts.

The Prussian minister still continues to be greatly noticed; the Empress talked to him in such a manner on Sunday evening as to make it evident that the conversation turned upon business of a serious nature.

I am informed that her Imperial Majesty has strongly expressed her dissatisfaction at the Court of Vienna's having refused to receive the Duke of Courland's letters of notification. In her private parties she takes frequent opportunities of mentioning the French with dislike and contempt, even to those whom she must suspect of partiality to that nation. As such are her dispositions to the families of Austria and Bourbon, it is not unnatural to conclude that she intends ultimately to connect herself with the maritime Powers as well as with the King of Prussia, whose friendship (as I have mentioned in a former despatch) she, in my opinion, only cultivates to serve the present purpose.

In speaking of the affairs of Sweden the ministers mentioned to me that, as Baron Breteuil had already gone so far as to offer three millions of the four the Swedes demanded, in all probability the treaty with France would be concluded, and that indeed it would be too difficult an undertaking to attempt to prevent it; yet, however, that it was to be wished that England and Russia would jointly keep up the spirit of the anti-French party, to make a proper use of them upon any emergency.

The Great Duke is still far from well. He came out too soon after his illness; his constitution, though greatly mended, requires the greatest attention.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

From having read a great deal without judgment Teplow is superciliously pedantic in a country where, very few houses excepted, a book is a phenomenon. Long application has enabled him

to form plausible systems upon fallacious reasonings, which the uninformed are captivated with. By flattering the Empress with the idea of Russia's exporting her own commodities, that in time by proper attention she may enable her subjects to supply their own consumption in almost every article at home and carry their productions in Russian vessels to foreign markets, his credit is so well established that his wild schemes are adopted, and Orlow, who detests him, has in vain laboured his removal. He is said to have engaged the Hetman in the last revolution, and that since, though he owes everything to him, he has prejudiced him in the sovereign's favour.[1] His wife lived at Moscow in the Hetman's family, to whom she is said to have been most kind. She just gave encouragement sufficient to the sentimental passion of an Austrian minister to induce him to write to her every morning, which she regularly communicated to the family. For her figure see Hogarth's 'Rake's Progress, No. 3'—the lady with the knife in her hand.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: January 13 (N.S.), 1764.

Yesterday being New Year's Day (O.S.) there was a ball at Court in the evening, and the foreign ministers had the honour of supping with the Empress and the Great Duke. General Chernichow, brother to the gentleman who was in England, is disgraced; the following is a translation of H.I.M.'s declaration:—

'By a special Order of H.I.M. addressed to the Senate the 30th of December (O.S.), 1763.

'The General Count Chernichow having in writing made it his request no longer to serve the Empress and his country, her Imperial Majesty grants him his discharge for ever.'

He was Vice-President of the Council of War, and is supposed to have executed his office with activity and ability. A little too much vivacity in some instances where he differed in opinion with his sovereign is supposed to have occasioned his misfortune.

H.I.M. presented yesterday a sword set with diamonds and a cross and buckle of a very considerable value for the Order of St. Andrew to Count Orlow.

[1] See also vol. i. p. 59, note.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: January 15, 1764.

[*Cypher*] I have received orders to tell the Russian ambassador here that, as the Empress thought proper hitherto to *refuse* all the offers which his Majesty had made of cementing a cordial and friendly union with her, he could do no more than repeat his wishes for the success of her intention relative to the succession to the Crown of Poland, that no dismemberment may be made of the Polish dominions, and that the election may be free according to the laws of the country. I therefore acquainted M. Keyserling with it, and find it gives him a great deal of uneasiness.[1] He imputes it to some error in the Russian Envoy at London, who is so suddenly recalled and changed, and has told a person, from whom I have it, that he will advise the Empress of Russia to enter into a strict friendship with England, and Repnin assures me that our Treaty was in a good train before his departure from Petersburg. This is all I know. If your Lordship can inform me of any thing farther it will do me a singular pleasure and service. Keyserling received a courier from his Court the day before yesterday, by which he learns that their Treaty with the King of Prussia is almost ready to be signed, and the Empress of Russia has again given the strongest assurances to M. Poniatowski and the family of Czartoryski that she will support them with all her force. [*End of Cypher.*]

We have as yet no certain intelligence from Dresden which of the brothers intends to offer himself a candidate for the Crown, but there is reason to apprehend that the next post will inform us of its being Prince Xavier.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: January 17 (N.S.), 1764.

I received your Lordship's dispatch of December 20 on Monday last, and have since had long conversations separately with M. Panin and the Vice-Chancellor. Those gentlemen, as usual,

[1] Simon Romanovitch Woronzow relates that at this period Keyserling was become very *dévot* and warmly attached to the Protestant religion, and that his political view was influenced by this, as he wished to oppose the Catholic and Austrian ascendency in Germany.

differ in opinion, for I can easily perceive that the latter not only did not originally approve of the demands of pecuniary assistance from England, but also thinks that his Court is not called upon to interest themselves deeply in the affairs of Poland.

M. Panin received the refusal [1] with great temper; it is true that he had been previously apprised of it by the Vice-Chancellor. I urged strongly the conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance upon the terms approved of by his Majesty, and laboured to convince him that England, in sending a minister to Warsaw, and since in consenting to forget the former indecent and disrespectful behaviour of the Court of Sweden, had showed the greatest attention to the wishes and views of her Imperial Majesty. He answered that he could not help thinking my Court as well as Russia interested in opposing the power of France in Poland and Sweden, and that it was not consistent with his duty to his Sovereign to recommend to her the conclusion of a treaty with a country that probably might be soon in a situation to require the stipulated succours, when that country refused to assist her Imperial Majesty upon the only probable occasion where she could be of use to her. He dwelt much upon the naval preparations of France and Spain, and hinted that he wondered we did not take some measures to prepare ourselves for the not unlikely contingency of the renewal of the war. I answered that undoubtedly France, from her intimate connection with Spain and Austria, was grown more formidable than ever, that finding herself on the Continent surrounded by friends on every side she was better able to give her attention to her Marine; but that it would not be the work of a few years for France and Spain together to prepare such a fleet as they could venture to oppose to the navy of England, especially as I was persuaded that a proper attention would be given to preserve it in the same situation which had enabled us so effectually to baffle the united efforts of our enemies.

He told me that he was credibly informed that the King of Sardinia was (though possibly against his inclinations) putting himself into the hands of the French and Austrians—a circumstance which must give additional security to France. I answered him that no information of that sort had directly reached me, that indeed it was very true that the union of the Courts of Versailles and Vienna would make it very unadvisable for his Sardinian

[1] Of a subsidy.

Majesty to stir without their approbation, but that after all these considerations only made out, that it was highly necessary for the Maritime and Northern Powers to prepare themselves against any event which this formidable league might meditate. Upon the whole he gave me to understand that the treaty would not be concluded upon the terms we propose, without we consented to assist them in the manner desired. He assured me that already his Court had remitted two millions of roubles to Poland, notwithstanding which expense their friends were in want of further supplies, as the French were constantly pouring in large sums of money. He repeated his assurances that there never had been the most distant idea of dismembering the Republick, and that nothing but the most evident and the most urgent necessity of maintaining the freedom of election would induce the Empress to make use of a military force in Poland.

I reminded him of the Treaty of Commerce, which he said he would enter into as soon as he had gone through the papers upon his table. I fear that will not be soon.

As to Count Woronzow, he will not probably at the time your Lordship receives this be any longer in England, but the Vice-Chancellor having mentioned to me some of that gentleman's intelligence, I could not help observing that I believed my Court would not be sorry at her Imperial Majesty's having thought proper to recall him, and that it were to be wished that his intelligence could be considered as in some degree suggested by those who opposed the measures of my Sovereign and his ministers. I said much the same to M. Panin, and they both answered that of late no confidence had been placed in him. I think it my duty to declare that I am fully convinced, that any part of M. Woronzow's behaviour which may have been disagreeable was directly contrary to the instructions and intentions of his Court.

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

[*Separate and most secret.*] Whitehall: January 20, 1764.

[*Cypher*] Your Lordship will find by the inclosed copies of two letters written to Mr. Keith during the time of his residence at Petersburg how very strong the objections were to the receiving M. Gross as a minister at this Court,[1] and that his Majesty at last

[1] George III. objected to M. Gross as a successor to Prince Galitzin in

condescended only to admit him upon condition that he should be immediately recalled. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that your Lordship, if it be not too late, should make some representations to the Russian ministers upon his being again appointed to the same destination, and to insinuate that it would certainly be more agreeable to his Majesty, if the Czarina would chuse out some less exceptionable person to transact her business here, and one with whom his Majesty's servants could communicate with freedom and confidence.

Your Lordship will take this matter up in such a manner as may convince that Court, that these objections are renewed from the most friendly intention on our part, but in case you find that you are too late in your application, or that they are earnest in appointing this Minister, you will then give them to understand that the King is so well convinced of her Imperial Majesty's desire to cultivate the antient union and friendship between the two Crowns, as well as her perfect knowledge of this person whom she employs, that he does not doubt but she knows the disposition of her own minister better than we do, and consequently that he will come with different intentions than we imagine, in expectation of which he will be received and treated here as a minister ought who is employed by so respectable a Power. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Same to the Same.

Whitehall: January 20, 1764.

[*Cypher*] In answer to your Excellency's dispatch of the 6th past and that of the 21st, received the same day by a Russian courier, I must refer you to two letters by which your Lordship will have found how little Count Woronzow deserves the kind and generous offers you used in his favour, when you were first acquainted with his intended recall from this Court. Your Lordship, I am sure, has made a proper use of the information which I have already sent you upon this subject, and it will still be

January 1762, because he believed him to have 'a most unfriendly and malicious disposition to H.M. and his allies, and that his principal occupation in London would be the supplying of H.M.'s enemies with intelligence.' He knew also from undoubted authority that Gross 'had sold himself to France.' (See Earl of Bute to Keith, January 5, 1762, and also to Keith and Wroughton, February 23, 1762, *Buckinghamshire Papers.*)

necessary to enter into farther particulars in order to undeceive the Russian ministers, and to set objects before them in their true light, which is impossible for them to have seen through the false colouring which I take for granted Count Woronzow has thrown upon them. There is one fundamental error which the Court of Petersburg seems to have taken up, and which we know for certain has been a favourite maxim with the minister, that the exigency of affairs in this country makes an alliance with Russia so absolutely necessary that we shall be glad to accept of it upon their own terms, whereas the real fact is that the present situation of Great Britain is so entirely free from any embarrassing engagements that no foreign Power could wish for more favourable a period to enter into an alliance with us, as we have a fair opportunity of preferring such connections as might entitle us to advantages in the way of negotiation. From the language held here by Count Woronzow it is reasonable to suppose that the very reverse of this has been perpetually suggested to the Court of Russia, and as we know from unguarded conversation with different people that he has frequently misrepresented what has past between him and some of his Majesty's servants upon various subjects, and has often affected to be well informed of the purport of your Lordship's dispatches, to which he has given any turn which he has thought proper, it is highly probable that he has acted the same part in the intelligence which he has transmitted to his own Court. It will be, therefore, necessary for your Excellency to take such measures as may effectually remove the false impression which must have been made at your Court by a minister who seems to have nothing more in view than to mix in the factions of this country, and who, by giving himself up to a conduct so inconsistent with his character, must make the interest of his own Court subservient to projects in which they can have no sort of interest.[1] [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Mr. H. Grenville (at Constantinople).

Petersburg: January 21 (N.S.), 1764.

You will not be new to learn how soon the death of the Elector of Saxony followed upon the heels of his father, or of the steps which this Court, in conjunction with his Imperial Majesty, have

[1] See p. 119, note.

taken in Poland. A letter I received yesterday from Warsaw informs me that the party which opposes their views, and which in effect may be styled the French faction, is very powerful, and my correspondent writes in the style of a man who fears very great and very disagreeable confusion. I am credibly informed that the Turkish Internonce, during the time he was at Potzdam, desired the King of Prussia to give him the plan of a treaty, to which that Prince immediately consented, and that the courier which the Internonce dispatched to Constantinople was charged with such a plan. You will be able to inform me of the authenticity of this piece of intelligence. Great pains have been taken by those who wished to give an odious turn to the ideas of this Court in Poland, to propagate a suspicion that her Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia had thoughts of taking this opportunity of dismembering that Republick, but I can take upon me to assure you that if the least faith is to be given to the most solemn assurances of the Ministry of her Imperial Majesty no such scheme was ever in agitation. The interest of the Court of Vienna is in a declining state at Petersburg; the connections that country has formed with France and her disposition to support the House of Saxony in Poland have both contributed to it. I should wish to learn in what light the Turks consider this unnatural union of France and Austria, and whether it does not seem to them a matter of much more serious consideration than any treaty which they can suppose may have been concluded between the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin. I have long known that such a one was under consideration, but rather imagine it is not signed. I should not, however, be surprised if the present circumstances in Poland, and the necessity the Empress has of his Prussian Majesty's assistance for the attainment of that object, which it is generally said she is determined to push, should occasion the immediate conclusion of it.

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: January 24 (N.S.), 1764.

Your Lordship must naturally judge from the dispatches which you will have already received that the negotiation for the Treaty of Alliance is at a stand. I have ineffectually used every argument in my power to induce this Court to enter into it with that fair and equitable spirit which dictated the terms of the Treaty of

1744. Nothing now remains for me but to wait till the ministers of the Czarina renew the subject, as my using any further importunities might possibly derogate from the dignity of the Crown of England, and encourage those airs of superiority and consequence which the vanity of this nation is but too ready to adopt. Were they justly sensible of the advantages they derive from the friendship of England, could they view the stability and efficient resources of their present Government with the eyes of a dispassionate observer, my task in this country would have been an easy one, as they would have thought it their interest to have prevented the wishes of my Sovereign.

Though they have again disappointed me as to the time of entering into the Treaty of Commerce, I really believe it is the intention of M. Panin to take it into consideration as soon as he can persuade the Czarina to give him his full instructions, which he assures me he daily expects.

I found the Prussian minister with him yesterday, and after he had left us, desired M. Panin to inform me of the present state of their negotiations. He told me that the treaty was upon the point of being concluded, and, upon my asking a particular explanation of the purport of it, he told me that the plan was much the same with that which was proposed to England. He added that it would be communicated to me, as it was not of a nature to be concealed from anybody, and more particularly from my Court.

The present tenour of the conduct as well as the language of this Ministry sufficiently demonstrates that they are in no degree partial to France or French Councils; yet I have reason to believe that almost all their ministers in foreign Courts are prejudiced in favour of a nation whose fashions, manners, and language their education has taught them to admire, and, therefore, either from their partiality or their ignorance, their dispatches are filled with the insinuations of the indefatigable emissaries of that country. From hence it is that I hear daily of the naval preparations of France and Spain, and of the apparent stability of the connection between the families of Austria and Bourbon, and at the same time it is always distantly insinuated that this union is indeed a serious object to other nations, but may ultimately be ruinous to England. In consequence of some conversation of this tendency I asked M. Panin if he did not imagine that in the late war we

had sufficiently corrected the French vivacity to keep them quiet for at least ten years. He answered that he believed indeed that it would be five before they would chuse to stir.

I hope my entering into such minute particulars may be excused, as it arises from my desire to show as far as possible the dispositions and ideas of those with whom I am to transact business. Count Orlow is frequently with Bestucheff, who will certainly try through his means to bring himself again upon the stage. It was lately insinuated to me that the scheme of a marriage was not laid aside, but the intelligence came rather from a suspicious quarter. Count Duben is arrived from Sweden. He tells me that their minister is by this time set out for England. General Chernichow comes to Court, but is not restored to his employments.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: January 25, 1764.

[*Cypher*] The Prussian minister acts in concert with the Russian ministers entirely hitherto, and we are expecting an account of the Treaty being finished, in which I make no doubt will be stipulations, though in private articles, for the future disposing of the Crown of Poland, which her Imperial Majesty seems to have so much at heart, and in which, however, she will find great difficulty, from the prejudice the major part of the country have to the person for whom she intends it. The contrary party seems secure in the King of Prussia's abandoning her, and that she will confine herself to menaces and not be able to support her friends with troops. I know she promises the contrary, without which there is no probability of succeeding. [*End of Cypher.*]

The inclosed declaration of the Prussian Resident[1] in the name of his master cannot fail of having a very good effect upon the approaching diettines, in destroying several reports very industriously propagated to the disadvantage of those two Courts, and by letting the country see their intentions in recommending a national for the succession.

[1] M. Gideon Benoît. See next page.

Déclaration.

[*Enclosure.*] January 22, 1764.

Les faux bruits qui se sont répandus dans le royaume et que les ennemis de la tranquillité publique ne cessent pas de divulguer de plus en plus, comme quoi les Cours de Prusse et de Russie vouloient profiter des circonstances présentes pour démembrer la Pologne ou la Lithuanie, et que le concert de ces deux Cours tendoit uniquement à y faire des acquisitions aux dépens de la République, les bruits (dis-je) qui sont aussi destitués de vraisemblance que de fondement ont porté le Soussigné Résident de Sa Majesté le Roy de Prusse près la Sérénissime République de Pologne à y contredire, non seulement de bouche, mais aussi par une Note préalable, remise à S. A. le Primat; et le Soussigné en ayant fait tout de suite son rapport au Roi son Maître, Sa Majesté, justement indignée de ces sortes de bruits si contraires à Sa façon de penser, a non seulement approuvé tout le contenu de la susdite Note, mais Elle a aussi chargé le Soussigné de la renouveler, et de la confirmer par une déclaration solennelle, faite en Son nom. C'est en conséquence de ces ordres exprès de S. M. le Roi de Prusse que Son Soussigné Résident déclare de nouveau par la présente, que l'amitié intime et la bonne harmonie qui subsistent si heureusement entre les deux Cours de Prusse et de Russie sont fondées sur un principe trop juste et trop équitable pour qu'on dût seulement présumer qu'il ait jamais été question entre elles d'un pareil dessein; qu'au contraire, loin de songer à s'aggrandir, Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse ne travaille et ne travaillera constamment qu'à maintenir les Etats de la République en leur entier, et à conserver les Constitutions et les libertés de la Nation Polonoise. Sa Majesté l'Impératrice de toutes les Russies ayant le même objet pour but, ce n'est que dans une pareille vue que le Roi s'est concerté avec cette Souveraine, et ces deux Puissances étant guidées par un principe aussi salutaire, il n'est pas à douter que leur union ne contribue à procurer à la Pologne une sécurité et une tranquillité parfaite.

Et comme en vertu du proche voisinage et de la bonne harmonie qui règne depuis un tems immémorial entre les Etats de Sa Maj. le Roi de Prusse et ceux de la Sérénissime République, Sa Maj., liée d'ailleurs à la République par une alliance éternelle, doit naturellement prendre beaucoup de part à tout ce

qui peut arriver de salutaire à la Pologne; le Soussigné ne sçauroit se dispenser, en vertu des ordres qu'il a reçues, de faire connoître, à l'occasion du présent interrègne, que le Roi n'entrevoit pas de plus grand avantage pour la République que si elle profitoit de cette époque pour se choisir un Roi qui fût du corps de la nation polonoise, issu du côté du père et de la mère du sang de la noblesse nationale, ainsi que Sa Majesté Impériale de Russie l'a fait connoître par Sa déclaration qui a été faite dans les mêmes vues que celle-ci. Le lustre dans lequel la République s'est vue sous les règnes des Rois Piastes fournit assez d'exemples du bonheur auquel peut s'attendre la nation à l'avenir, si dans la future élection elle tourne ses vues du côté de ses ancêtres. Sa Majesté l'Impératrice de Russie étant animée des mêmes sentimens à cet égard, et reconnoissant également tout le bien que la nation retirera d'une démarche aussi louable que digne des beaux privilèges dont elle jouit, il sera aisé à chaque citoyen d'entrevoir qu'il ne pouvoit rien arriver de plus heureux pour la Pologne dans les circonstances présentes que le parfait concert qui règne encore en ce point entre ces deux Puissances voisines.

Le Soussigné a eu l'honneur d'exposer par cette déclaration formelle les sentimens sincères et invariables du Roi son Maître, et c'est par là qu'il a dû s'acquitter des ordres exprès et précis qu'il vient de recevoir de S. M. BENOÎT.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: January 27 (N.S.), 1764.

I was yesterday with Count Bestucheff, who most earnestly desired me to recommend M. Gross to my Court, in his name, as a man of abilities well disposed to the English nation, and whose conduct his Majesty would have reason to be satisfied with. He also expressed a desire that M. Gross might be informed how much he interested himself for him. He continues to insinuate to me, as formerly, that not to appear solicitous about my negotiations is the surest method of bringing them forward. He spoke frankly of his own situation. He said that his interesting himself for the House of Saxony was the reason of his not being consulted at this juncture as formerly, and complained very much of the conduct of Baron Osten, the Danish minister, whom he suspects to have done him ill offices. Your Lordship must have heard of

that gentleman as of a very busy, intriguing man. He is particularly officious in the affairs of Poland, and his conduct would be much more becoming of an agent of the family of Czartoryski than of the minister of the King of Denmark.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: January 31 (N.S.), 1764.

The King of Denmark has directed Baron Osten to inform the Empress that he is ready to concur with her views in Poland, and that he will give proper instructions to his ministers in foreign Courts in consequence of that determination; in one light this has certainly a good appearance, as it proves that his Danish Majesty is not entirely governed by French influence.[1] These assurances, which were, I believe, unexpected, have greatly pleased the Empress. I almost expected to have informed your Lordship by this post that the Treaty with Prussia was signed, but am informed that when the minister of that Court imagined everything was settled, he found the Russians had made a most material alteration in the article relative to Poland. It stipulated originally that in case the Empress Queen marched any troops into Poland his Prussian Majesty should take the same step, and in concert with the Czarina support a free election according to the constitutions of the Republick, but by the alteration, the Court of Berlin was to engage to support at all events the election of Count Poniatowski, without any salvo of the liberties of the Republick. As Count Solms' instructions did not reach to this extent, things are at present at a stand. I have this from a person who should know, but though I rather believe it to be true yet cannot advance it as a fact.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: February 7 (N.S.), 1764.

A considerable addition has been lately made to the body of Senators; it were to be wished that the increase of numbers might

[1] The action of Denmark in the matter of Poland was influenced by her desire to make terms with Russia as to Holstein. Her treaty with France (of 1754) was about to expire, and in March 1764 the offer of France to renew it *without a subsidy* was rejected by Denmark. (See *Recueil des Instructions, Danemark*, p. lxii.)

a little accelerate the dispatch of business. The nobility are greatly dissatisfyed that some of the new Senators are of very mean extraction, for though there are very few families in Russia of any great antiquity, yet they respect the idea of it, and are not pleased to see anybody advanced whose ancestors were not in some sort distinguished in the reign of Peter I.

Bestucheff, it is said, has desired his demission upon pretence of age and infirmities, which I am assured is actually preparing for the Empress to sign. It is difficult to foresee the event, but his view in retiring is only to return into the administration with more weight. General Wolkonski is to have the command upon the frontiers of Poland. I had lately some conversation with him upon the subject. Whatever his orders are he is an officer who will execute them with temper and spirit.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: February 10 (N.S.), 1764.

Many appearances give me reason to believe that this Court is disappointed and mortified at his Majesty's having declined assisting them in Poland, and more particularly at the declaration which in consequence of his instructions Mr. Wroughton has lately made to Count Keyserling.[1] From such information as reaches me I must suppose that nothing but the march of a considerable corps of Russian and Prussian troops can secure the election of Count Poniatowski. He is said to have many personal enemies, exclusive of those who are attached to the House of Saxony, nor can he be very cordially supported by the Czartoryskis, as Prince Adam had upon this occasion the best pretensions to expect the preference. Though it is most happy for England to keep clear of these disputes, in which there is at present a probability of so many considerable Powers being deeply engaged, yet surely it is in some sort to be lamented that the Czarina's zeal in a cause perhaps not strictly essential to Russia should induce her to form the strongest engagements with a Prince who, ever attentive to his own immediate interest rather than any general system, amongst the various measures in which that disposition has engaged him has too frequently adopted such as were repugnant

[1] See his dispatch of January 15, 1764, p. 129.

to the views of England and the security of the great balance of Europe. How far his Prussian Majesty may really intend to push affairs in Poland at any risk or considerable expense of his own may be a little problematical, but certainly he will not be sorry to encourage any disputes which may exhaust the resources of those countries whose arms have lately so nearly compleated his ruin. I saw the Empress the day before yesterday. She appeared to be by no means well or in spirits.

P.S.—The Chinese continue to be troublesome upon the borders.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: February 14 (N.S.), 1764.

In answer to that part of your dispatch of January 17 which relates more particularly to M. Woronzow, at the time his recall was first mentioned to me I had not only received no complaint against him, but, on the contrary, had reason to believe that he lived in intimacy and friendship with his Majesty's ministers, and what perhaps the rather moved me to offer some little in his favour was least it should be suspected that from personal pique I had contributed to the disgrace of a man of whose conduct I had some reason to complain.

It will appear in the course of my correspondence that my best endeavours have already been exerted to guard this Ministry against his misrepresentations, nor shall I omit any future opportunity of continuing the same language and of placing the real situation of England and the importance of her alliance in a proper light.

M. Woronzow, led by the partial suggestions of those gentlemen with whom his ill-fortune has of late connected him, may very possibly by the tenour of his dispatches have contributed in some degree to prevent the conclusion of our negotiations, but in my opinion it is the Vice-Chancellor who either misinformed himself, or wishing to misinform, has given his Court those ideas of our exhausted resources, and of our critical situation with regard to foreign affairs, which have induced them to believe that we wished to conclude the Treaty of Alliance upon almost any terms. His long residence in England adds weight to his assertions, and the importance which he occasionally affects gives an air of fact to the fictions which his fancy or prejudice dictates.

I am assured that the Russian money has been so effectually employed in Turkey as to induce that Power to concur in the views of the Czarina in Poland; also that the Primate's [1] influence has been purchased for 100,000 roubles. As Prince Radzivil has got some troops together, an officer is going to him from hence to acquaint him that if he continues to arm he will be considered and treated as an enemy to the Republick and the liberties of Poland.

Upon making the most exact enquiry I could into the difficulty which had put off the signing of the Treaty with the King of Prussia, I am assured that it arose from this, that the Czarina expects that his Prussian Majesty should stipulate to march 20,000 men into Poland upon her requisition, whereas he proposes only to engage himself conditionally in case any Imperial troops should enter that country. The person who gave me this intelligence seemed to think that this would be got over and the Treaty signed upon the return of the courier. The interior politicks of the country vary from day to day; the Hetman is arrived, and has been very coolly received. It has been insinuated to me that M. Panin's situation is not so well established as he imagines. His disgrace would give me some concern, as he is esteemed a man of honour and integrity, though a little too fond of his own opinions, and wanting that general information which is so essential to the first minister of such an Empire.

Bestucheff was at Court on Sunday. He worships Count Orlow, and may probably find his account in it. Many people imagine the idea of the important marriage is by no means laid aside. The measures taken by the Empress in Poland seem to be disapproved by almost all the principal Russians. It is but natural to think that Count Poniatowski, elected by force, will find that force necessary to support him, and surely the story of King Stanislaus is still recent enough to warn him and those who support him of what may probably be his fate.

When your Lordship wrote your dispatch of the 20th you had not as yet received my letters by post of December 9, 13, and 16, in the last of which I take notice of the conversation which passed between me and the Russian ministers when they first communicated to me their intention of sending M. Gross to England. In consequence of his Majesty's instructions I repeated

[1] Prince Ladislaus Lubienski, Archbishop of Gnesen and Primate of Poland.

my remonstrances upon that subject, which are now much too late, as he is probably at this time in England. The Vice-Chancellor, whom I have left this moment, assures me that they fixed upon M. Gross as a man of abilities who was at hand to replace M. Woronzow immediately, whose conduct in England had been so imprudent that the Empress, from her sincere friendship to his Britannick Majesty, was desirous of preventing the remonstrances she daily expected; that it would have taken several months to have dispatched a minister from hence, nor was it easy to find one so well qualified as M. Gross; that her Imperial Majesty was persuaded his conduct would now be such as to cultivate the connections of the two kingdoms, as the circumstances which raised the former objections to him arose from the union of interests which then subsisted between the French and Russians. He added that if that gentleman's conduct should deviate in the least from his duty as the minister of a friend and ally, upon the first complaint he should instantly be removed. I repeated to him how great an appearance there was, either that this Court did not wish to conclude any alliance with England, or that they thought from the information given them by M. Woronzow that our situation was such as to oblige us to come to any terms, observing how natural it was for the party who directed that gentleman's conduct to make their use of him, in embroiling the affairs of government as well at home as abroad.[1] I further mentioned that this Court greatly deceived themselves, if they imagined it was not in his Majesty's power to form engagements

[1] In this matter of Woronzow the following passages from Frederic II.'s correspondence are significant:—

On January 19, 1764, he writes to his ambassador Michell at London—

'Quand vous trouverez des occasions où vous saurez adroitement nourrir le mécontentement du comte de Woronzow, et même l'aigrir contre les susdits ministres, vous ne devez pas négliger de le faire.'

On May 25, 1764, Panin having informed him that Michell had been in communication with Count Woronzow as to his plans for overthrowing the English Ministry, Frederic writes to Solms, his ambassador at Petersburg—

'Vous l'en remercierez très poliment et lui direz que le dit sieur Michell serait rappelé, mais que je priais le comte Panin qu'il ne voudrait pas ajouter foi à ce que les ministres anglais prétendaient mettre à sa charge . . . et que de tout temps je ne lui avais connu aucun esprit de cabale dont il paraît que les ministres anglais le soupçonnent, quoiqu'à tort. . . .'

See vol. xxiii. pp. 257, 396.

upon advantageous terms with other Powers. He immediately asked if I meant with France; I answered that neither my instructions nor my information was such as to enable me to enter into particulars. I find they have had some intelligence that there is a great present cordiality subsisting between France and England. The Vice-Chancellor spoke to me of the Treaty of Alliance in a manner that looked as if they were coming nearer to our terms. In my answer I treated it as a most desirable measure, but showed no appearance of yielding to their propositions. He assured me that he thought the connection with England much more essential to Russia than any engagements with the King of Prussia, and spoke of the treaty as not being so nearly concluded as is generally imagined. Upon the whole he professed strongly that his political ideas had always led him to consider the union of Russia with Austria and Great Britain as the capital object, and that he never had the least partiality for the French. Though the style of this conversation seems very favourable, yet perhaps it may really mean nothing. I shall study to appear neither too solicitous nor too cool in relation to the two treaties as the best method to hasten the conclusion of them.

P.S.—The Vice-Chancellor mentioned to me a few days ago that instructions had been sent to M. Gross to avoid carefully the errors of Woronzow, and to study to make his conduct agreeable to his Majesty and his Government.

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whitehall: February 14, 1764.

[*Cypher*] The disapprobation which M. Panin expressed of Count Woronzow's conduct in his late discourses with you is so justly founded, that it will require a great deal of your attention to take off the impressions which that minister must have made by false representations, whether arising from ignorance or ill-intentions, by his being so closely connected with its factions. In either case there is too much reason to believe that he has been extremely deficient in his duty towards his own Court by inducing them, through unjust insinuations, to believe that this country was under a necessity of obtaining a Treaty from Russia upon almost any terms, and that his Majesty's servants would be

as anxious to forward it for their own credit and security. Your Lordship will have no need of instructions to overthrow the weakness of such insinuations. The least knowledge of the state of the trade between Great Britain and Russia will shew in whose favour a Treaty of Commerce will naturally incline, and renewing the antient alliance can never be considered but as mutual benefits to both Crowns. . . . It was to the interest of Russia to have been perfectly informed of his Majesty's friendly and cordial disposition towards his ally, and of the true system of his Government, instead of being misled by groundless jealousies and ill-founded surmises, which we have too much reason to think have been the only informations which the Court of Russia has lately received from their minister at this place. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Same to the Same.

Whitehall: February 17, 1764.

His Majesty thinks it would not be improper for you to acquaint the minister at your Court that you are in expectation of a speedy recall, and that, as you would naturally wish to leave them with the satisfaction of having compleated one object of your mission, you are still ready to enter into a negociation with them, taking the Treaty of 1742 for the plan of a projected alliance, according to your original instructions and agreeable to the language which you have invariably held upon the subject. As this conversation will naturally lead you to the Treaty of Commerce, which the Court of Petersburg has been pleased to believe as so essentially necessary to this country, that they might at any time throw it as a bait to make the Treaty of Alliance go down upon their own terms, your Lordship will take care to convince them of the fallacy of such reasoning, and that, particularly as to the articles of hemp and iron, upon which they ground their error, we have such resources within ourselves and colonies, that we could at any time direct that branch of trade into such a channel as would totally deprive Russia of any share in it. These reflections your Lordship will make to the ministers of your Court with the same frank and fair intention with which they are conveyed, and you will take this opportunity of thoroughly convincing them with how much injustice their minister here has acted, both with respect

to them and to the real sentiments of this Court, which always preserved and still continues the same cordial disposition towards her Imperial Majesty, and has no other view in the terms which are offered but that of promoting the mutual interest of the two kingdoms and maintaining the dignity of the respective Crowns. I must add, which I do with great pleasure, that the King is thoroughly convinced of your Lordship's zeal and ability in the prosecution of these affairs, and should you at last leave that Court without effectuating the ultimate end of your ministry there, it will not be imputed to any deficiency on your part, but partly to views which Russia seems to hold with respect to this country, which are principally owing to the bad intentions of Count Woronzow, who has listened more to the advice and suggestions of factions here, than to the dictates of truth and of that duty which he owes his own Sovereign and that respect which is due to the Court where he had the honour to reside. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: February 17 (N.S.), 1764.

I was last night with M. Panin. We entered into the subject of the Treaty of Alliance. He urged the propriety of our giving in to some of their new propositions with many words, great eagerness, but very little argument. He repeated to me what he had said before, and to the best of my recollection exactly in the same terms. He dwelt principally upon the circumstances which gave rise to the former Treaty, asserting that at that time England in fact negociated more for the House of Austria than herself. I answered that I was not in a situation in the year 1744 to be acquainted with the secret springs of Government; but supposing what he advanced was really the case, I could not see the force of his reasoning, or why a country negociating entirely for her own interests should make greater concessions than when those interests were only indirectly concerned. Our conversation was interrupted by company. When I took my leave he told me that he had not forgot the Treaty of Commerce. Perhaps he has not, but I know that no steps have been taken to bring forward the consideration of it. M. Panin cannot but be greatly mortified at the disgrace

of Glebow,[1] Procuror-General of the Senate, mentioned in my last; he has ever been his great friend and protector. Bestucheff is supposed to have secretly contributed to this measure. The office of Procuror-General is one of the very first importance in this Empire. During the time the Court was at Moscow Glebow was accused of extortion and many malversations. Panin with difficulty saved him.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: February 20, 1764.

[*Cypher*] In regard to the family of Czartoryski I can positively assure you that there is the utmost union in favour of Poniatowski, and ever was from the beginning of the interregnum, so that your information must have been from persons entirely ignorant of the disposition, or perhaps having some views in telling you so. The Danish minister's orders are that his master from his alliance with the Court of Saxony naturally wishes to see the Crown of Poland in that family in preference to all other foreign princes, but that he should act in concert with the Empress of Russia for the preservation of the laws and the liberty of election of the Republick. If the answer of the Danish Court has been represented to you otherwise it has been exaggerated. The Prussian minister has received yesterday a letter from Solms telling him that their treaty is ready for signing, and that goes well for Poniatowski, against whom there had been many intrigues which now are crushed. They say too here that the Turks have declared that they will enter into the views of the Russian and Prussian Courts for the placing a national on the Throne. The contrary party treats all these stories with great discredit, and forms conjectures very unfavourable to Her Imperial Majesty's reign. I am quite at a loss to guess what should prevent the conclusion of our treaty, having always known of the Princess's attachment to our country even when it was a crime for her to be suspected of it. [*End of Cypher.*]

Our Diettines commenced the 6th instant, and, according to

[1] Alexander Iwanovitch Glebow, Procurator-General also under Peter III., over whom he had much influence. See *Recueil des Instructions, &c.: Russie*, ii. 191.

the relations from those parts where the termination is known, they have in general passed much in favour of the party of Czartoryski. We shall not have a general account for some days, I mean from those places whose distance from the capital prevents us from being so soon informed of what passes there. Count Poniatowski is chosen without opposition for this town.

Count Merci is arrived, but says nothing as yet.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: February 21 (N.S.), 1764.

There was a very magnificent theatrical entertainment at Court on Friday evening. The Great Duke and the Prince of Courland danced. The actors, dancers, singers, and musicians, amounting to above a hundred, were persons of distinction. The whole was conducted with the greatest splendour, propriety, and regularity.

Count Lubinski, envoy from the Republick of Poland and nephew to the Primate, has had his first audience. He is to remain here but a short time. The Prince of Anhalt, a relation of the Empress and a general officer in the French service, left Petersburg on Sunday after having staid here about three months. He has received presents from her Imperial Majesty to the amount of nearly 30,000 roubles.

Lord Stormont to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Vienna: February 25, 1764.

This is a very uninteresting scene at present, the Court being chiefly taken up with the preparations for Franckfort, where everything seems to go according to their wish, so that it is thought the Emperor will set out the 15th of next month.[1] The French and Spanish ambassadors have orders to attend him thither, and are to appear with great *éclat*. And in order to keep up the pretension France and Sweden form, of assisting at the election as guarantees of the peace of Westphalia, the French ambassador

[1] Joseph was elected King of the Romans, March 27, 1764.

and the Swedish minister are to be accredited to the diet of election as plenipotentiaries.

[*Cypher*] I was extremely glad to hear of Count Woronzow's recall, as I am persuaded that his bad intention and false misrepresentations have greatly obstructed your Lordship's negociations. A few days ago the Russian minister told me that he had received orders from the Empress to live with me upon a footing of intimacy and entire confidence, and that all the Russian ministers at the other Courts of Europe would receive orders to live upon the like friendly footing with all the King's ministers. I was much pleased with this and hope it is a good sign, and heartily wish it may be followed by such a cordial union between the two Courts as I think would be not only for the real interest of both, but of the greatest importance to the general interest of Europe. It has been whispered here that there begins to be a coldness between the Empress of Russia and the King of Prussia. Your Lordship will no doubt know if there is any truth in this report. I do not find that this Court have any jealousy of the present Vizier, and I saw not long ago a letter from Constantinople by which it appears that great pains are taken there to turn the attention of the Porte another way, and to inspire them with jealousy of the pretended ambitious designs of the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin. It is easy to guess who are at the bottom of this, though the private letter I saw does not name them. [*End of Cypher.*]

Mr. Mitchell to the Same.

Berlin: Saturday, February 25, 1764.

[*Cypher*] The Prussian ministers make no communication to me either with regard to what is passing concerning the election of the King of the Romans, nor with respect to their transactions with the Court of Petersburg. I can send your Lordship no sort of information that may be depended upon. About a fortnight ago it was strongly reported that all things were in confusion in Russia, that a new conspiracy had been discovered, and a great number of people banished to Siberia, and that others had leave to travel into foreign countries; that General Chernichow was disgraced, and that the party of Orlow gained ground daily. I confess I was alarmed with these reports, and the more so as the

Russian minister here had no letters from his Court, and seemed to be a little uneasy. I have observed of late that that minister is but imperfectly informed of the transactions at his Court, insomuch that I have reason to doubt whether they have acquainted him with the steps already taken with regard to their Treaty of Alliance with the King of Prussia. I have not yet been able to learn that the Courts of Vienna and France have, since the death of the Elector of Saxony, agreed upon any plan for chusing a King of Poland, so that it is believed here the Empress of Russia's scheme will easily take place. The Imperial minister here is very watchful, and full of suspicion of what may happen; but it is extremely difficult to make discoveries at this Court, though he seems now more easy with regard to the defensive Treaty between the King of Prussia and the Ottoman Porte.

Mr. Wroughton to the Same.

Warsaw: February 26, 1764.

[*Cypher*] The Dietines are gone in general so very favourable for the family of Czartoryski, that I really cannot help changing my sentiments, and thinking that the project of the Empress of Russia may succeed without having recourse to any hostilities. This has, however, cost the Court of Petersburg much money, which has been given liberally where they expected the greatest opposition, which joined to the impression of the strict union between the two northern Crowns, and their having also gained the Turks, have prevented their enemies from exerting themselves so much as was expected. I have now a subject to touch upon to your Lordship, which requires the greatest secrecy and circumspection on both sides; it is about Oginski. We know that his journey to Petersburg was undertaken in hopes of gaining this Crown, and that the Danish minister is his zealous friend for his success, though the measures they employed are not only unknown to the family but quite contrary to their united inclination. He still puts off his return, though much pressed by his wife and father. Pray tell me, has he an intimacy with any woman? On what footing is he treated by the Empress, or is there any party that seems to espouse his interest contrary to that of Poniatowski? Whatever information you can give me may be very necessary for

me to know; and I beg your Lordship to be assured that I shall not make any other use of it than for the rule of my conduct here. Does your Lordship know the reason of Woronzow being recalled from London and Gross sent there?

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: February 28 (N.S.), 1764.

The courier is returned from Berlin, and I understand that there are now no difficulties which retard the signing of the Treaty between the Czarina and his Prussian Majesty, except some alterations of expression in themselves of no essential consequence. A friend, whose authority I think I may depend upon, assures me that, though he should not be surprised if it was to be concluded this day, he imagines it will probably not be finally settled these three weeks. It is said that there is no stipulation relative to Denmark, but that it is merely a convention of a defensive nature, except the Article which regards the affairs of Poland.

Her Imperial Majesty will now probably carry her point in that country, the natural consequence of her being the only Sovereign who chuses at this time to enter with the same determined spirit into a cause in which their own interests are not immediately concerned.

The officer who was sent to Prince Radzivil was particularly ordered not to make use of the threats mentioned in my dispatch of February 14 till he had found milder arguments ineffectual.

Fresh hints have been given me that there is little probability of M. Panin's long maintaining the situation. If Bestucheff should again take the lead, I hardly know if England could greatly avail herself of the change, for whatever may have been that minister's former disposition he seems at present entirely subservient to the views of the House of Austria. How far those views may coincide with the wishes of his Majesty my situation by no means enables me to be a competent judge, but I much fear that he will act no farther as our friend than the Empress Queen chuses he should.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: March 6 (N.S.), 1764.

Count Lubinski, minister from the Republick of Poland, has already had his audience of leave. The Empress has presented him with the Order of St. Alexander Newsky.

The merchants here are extremely desirous that permission might be given to the Russian Company to coin dollars in England, under the authority of his Majesty's mint, as by that means we should keep that advantage to ourselves of which the Dutch at this time avail themselves. I am not sensible of any objections to this proposition, though I cannot pretend to assert that there are none.

H. Grenville to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, &c. &c.

March 10, 1764.

We had very early intelligence here of the death of the young Elector of Saxony, and of the measures taken by the Court of Petersburg in conjunction with that of Berlin with respect to Poland. Neither are those measures unknown to the Porte, which appears very attentive to the present scene of affairs there, and views the operations of some of the Christian Powers with a jealous eye. I write without cypher, and consequently not without restraint, especially knowing through what hands my letter must pass ere it can reach yours; but thus much your Lordship may depend on (nor is it any great secret here), that the Porte has lately sent a formal declaration[1] in writing to the ministers of the two above mentioned Courts, signifying her firm intention to see the ancient rights, libertys, and legal constitution of Poland duly preserved at the approaching election of a King, hoping that those Powers do not mean to disturb or overawe the free deliberations of the Diet; and consequently if they have already marched any troops to the confines of Poland, that they will immediately order those troops to withdraw. This declaration has likewise been communicated to the French ambassador, and the German

[1] To this the Porte had been instigated by the French Court. See 'Instructions to the Marquis de Bausset, December 18, 1763,' *Recueil des Instructions, &c. Russie*, ii. 229.

internonce here. Thus the storm seems to be gathering everywhere, and the apprehensions of your Warsovian correspondent appear but too well founded, though I cannot for my own part believe that the Porte seriously means to take a serious or an active part in the troubles of Poland.

The plan of treaty, said to have been desired of the King of Prussia by the Turkish Envoy during his stay at Potzdam, is no fiction of the times. Such a plan, I have good reason to believe, has actually been transmitted to the Porte, approved and signed, and returned back some weeks ago. The particular articles of it are not very well known, but are believed (as far as I can penetrate into the matter) to contain a defensive alliance, and to grant some commercial advantages to the King of Prussia, and the liberty of establishing Consuls at the several scales of this Empire, in like manner as is allowed to other Christian Powers, in amity with the Porte.[1]

Unnatural as the connection between France and Austria may appear to be, it is pretty plain that the Porte looks upon that union in a less serious light, and as less an object of her attention than the close union between the Courts of Berlin and Petersburg, or than the Treaty, which the Porte still look upon as concluded between them, and formed with a view of dismembering the Republick of Poland.

This country is so little productive of amusements, or any pleasureable events, that it affords nothing which can at all help to bear out a dull letter, particularly in this season of Ramazan, when one deep, universal Lent overspreads the whole face of Constantinople. The carnival was animated by a few balls and many private dancings, which the Prince Dolguruki, the late Russian Envoy Extraordinary here, and his suite of young men contributed not a little to; but they have now left us, have bid adieu to Pera and its fair, afflicted daughters, and behold! a long, dull *carême* succeeds; but, in spite of *carême*, assemblys flourish in the foreign ministers' houses. Mrs. Grenville enlivens hers with

[1] The plan of treaty proposed to the Turkish internuncio Achmet Effendi in November 1763 was founded upon the principle of mutual help in case of attack. If the Porte should be attacked by the Austrians, Frederic was to make a diversion in the territories of the Empress Queen. If Frederic should be attacked, the Turk was to make a diversion in Hungary. See a 'Mémoire' delivered to the Turkish envoy, November 30, 1763, *Polit. Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten*, xxiii. 201.

the sweet harmony of concerts, which are very well executed and not a little relished.

Thus we live and have our being, not over joyfully nor yet repining, waiting, in patient expectation, the day that is to give us back to a land of more Christian pleasures, and to a sight of our more Christian friends. Your Lordship, I know, will allow me to reckon you in that number.

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Same.

Hague: March 13, 1764.

However bad the excuse may appear, it is nevertheless very true that I have had a letter upon the anvil above six weeks, to thank your Excellency for the honour of your very obliging letter of December 27 past, which was longer than ordinary upon the road; but the want of interesting materials, an accident which happened to me by a fall, and the hurry of the arrival of the Hereditary Prince and Princess of Brunswick [1] unexpectedly at this place have made me delay till the arrival of a second from your Excellency, just received. Be assured, however I may appear in fault, that I set a true value upon your favours, and shall be ever proud to acknowledge them.

The illustrious couple I have just mentioned are, and have great reason to be, pleased with each other. Our Princess has, without the least flattery, captivated all hearts where she has appeared, for so much goodness, dignity, and complaisance with so much gaiety were never united before in one person. They are at present at Brunswick, in the midst of a happy family, where the rejoicings and diversions still continue, and I believe they will stay some time there.

[*Cypher*] Gross left us a few days ago, had a good passage, and is already in office at London. He had two long conversations with me to the same purpose as what has been said to you, of which I gave notice at home, and insinuated that there were means of gaining his friendship, which by my answer I believe will not be

[1] Augusta, sister of George III., and Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick, who succeeded to the dukedom in 1780. They were to be the parents of the unfortunate Queen Caroline of Brunswick and of the Duke of Brunswick who fell at Waterloo.

neglected between ourselves. I make no doubt of this minister's endeavouring to ingratiate himself, not out of principle, but because he never intends to return to Russia, and he thinks since the strange scene of the French minister Déon [1] that our Court is the only one in Europe where a foreign minister may safely fly in the face of his Court and refuse to leave the country. His young successor never pleased me, though I saw him but little. Woronzow is an odd person. He does not expect nor desires to stay here long, as I am told, and Golofkin solicits hard for the post. You know him, and I wish him well, but am doubtfull of his success. I must add, however, that young Woronzow, I do not know how or why, is well with most of the foreign ministers at London, who write in his favour. I most sincerely hope that M. Gross will be able to second your Lordship in perfecting the negotiation with Russia, which I long to see happily ended, because I build our strength upon it. I am still an heretick about Poland, and expect either to see that election produce an interior quarrel in Russia or an exterior one between Austria and Prussia, when once the election at Franckfort is over. Poverty must keep Europe in peace, for all coffers are empty. Many thanks for your hint about what may happen to the Dutch for non-payment of arrears; they have had a hint here, and I suppose Holland, to save her ship and prevent an affront, will be forced to advance the money to Zeeland, who never pay till compelled to it, even in the occasions of their own country. I know little about France except that they do nothing; their East India Company, their finances, their army, and even their marine, notwithstanding their boasting, are all where they were at the peace, or pretty near it. I am told they chicane us about the Canadian bigotry and Dunkirk. The sending Count Destaing to command with Bloeriban in the West Indies is a proof that they will not be quiet longer than they are forced to be so by poverty and home confusion. Spain is not perhaps so French as may be thought; his Catholick Majesty cannot forget the way he was duped into the war, and took Grimaldi

[1] The quarrel between the Chevalier d'Éon, 'the French Wilkes,' secretary to the Embassy, and M. de Guerchy, the French ambassador at St. James's, occurred in the beginning of the year, and was followed by the publication in March of the *Lettres, Mémoires et Négociations particulières du Chevalier Déon*, which made the quarrel public property. See Walpole's *Memoir of the Reign of George III.*, i. 392.

home in order to bring him out of France. M. de Squillacci, who caused the last war, is become a better Spaniard by Grimaldi's being so French. Lord Rochford is much liked there. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: March 13 (N.S.), 1764.

I was yesterday with the Vice-Chancellor. He was pleased to express some concern at my expecting my recall so soon, and upon his asking me if any person was named to succeed me seemed very much surprised at my answer that I knew of none. He agreed with me in wishing that the treaties might be settled before my departure. I afterwards went by appointment to M. Panin, with whom I had a very long and serious conversation, and indeed, my Lord, he greatly deceives me if he is not upon system a friend to England and desirous of strengthening the natural connections of the two countries. He distantly hinted that my Court did not place that degree of confidence in him which he deserved, considering they might be so thoroughly convinced from former transactions, as well as from the general tenour of his conduct, how much he wished consistently with his duty to his country to prove his good dispositions towards them. He dwelt much, as usual, upon the danger which, notwithstanding the present plausible appearances, must ultimately threaten England from the united marine of France and Spain, but rather as lamenting it than meaning to avail himself of it as an argument in point of negociation. I was much concerned, however, to find that it was vain to attempt to make him depart from the demand in relation to Poland, which he seems determined not to waive.

In speaking of the Treaty of Commerce, he concurred with me in the objects of it being as much or more of consequence to Russia than England, said he did not conceive that there would arise any difficulties in that negociation, and that it was only delayed by the great immediate attention which was necessarily given to the affairs of Poland, and to some difference of opinion with regard to the manner of settling the general method in which the Commissioners of Commerce were to proceed. When we parted I took notice with concern of the appearance of her

Imperial Majesty's feeling no longer the same cordiality for my country.

Notwithstanding the many assurances given by the Great Chancellor to Mr. Keith and to myself, I have at this time no doubt that, not only before the accession of her present Imperial Majesty but since, he has uniformly promoted to the utmost the views of France,[1] and as uniformly thwarted every measure which England wished to promote. The Vice-Chancellor, brought up in the same notions, raised and supported by him, treads in his steps, with this difference, that he is totally deficient in that politeness of address and appearance of candour which glossed over the principles and prejudices of the other.

The Same to Mr. Wroughton.

Petersburg: March 16 (N.S.), 1764.

It has been reported, I know not with what foundation, that Count Oginski came here with views of disposing the Empress to interest herself for his being elected King of Poland; but if any intrigues were formed for that purpose there never was the least appearance of their succeeding. I am assured that his principal objects here are to obtain a palatinate through the Empress's means; he also solicits some amends for the damage his estates suffered from the troops of Russia. He is received with that politeness at Court which his rank, behaviour, and personal merit really deserve. I never saw any reason to suspect him of being attached to any women. Billiards and musick employ the greatest part of his time. M. Osten, with whom he in a manner lives, attends him everywhere, and treats him with a most singular respect. He does not talk at present of leaving Petersburg, and I understand he has sent for his wife. You will consider this as merely for your own information. I have much too high an opinion of the understanding and judgment of the family of Czartoryski to suppose they would separate themselves at this time from Count Poniatowski, but surely it is not unnatural to

[1] This is abundantly proved from the correspondence of the French Government with their ambassadors. See *Recueil des Instructions: Russie*, ii. 177, 191, 193. See also vol. i. of this work, p. 95.

imagine that Prince Adam,[1] if circumstances had favoured him, would rather have chose to have been elected himself.

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: March 16 (N.S.), 1764.

I am assured that Poniatowski is named in one of the Articles of the Treaty with Russia as the person whose election is at all events to be supported.

I have every day fresh insinuations given me to the Empress's being sensibly affected at the declaration made by Mr. Wroughton at Warsaw.[2] The election of Poniatowski is a favourite point with her in every light, nor need I say she is of a disposition to feel strongly. I am persuaded that the refusal to close with her views was not only expedient but necessary, yet I hope in my situation my lamenting the probable consequences may appear a little excusable, as every man partially considers the objects committed to his care as of the greatest importance, and the scene which passed under his eye as the most deserving of attention.

The more opportunities I have of mixing with the people of this country, the more I am able to penetrate into their real political notions and inclinations, the more apparent it is to me that the House of Austria will ultimately direct the measures of Russia, and that the present intimate connection with Prussia will die away as soon as that purpose is answered, unless made part of a general system by the concurrence of other Powers. That something of this nature is the plan of M. Panin I have great reason to believe, though he never directly mentioned it to me. Your Lordship's information will enable you to judge of what would be the probable consequences if the House of Austria should regain the ascendant here, whether gratitude would induce her to co-operate with and support that old and useful ally who has so often prevented her destruction, or whether, fond of her new friendships and unnatural connections, she would contribute with them to ruin the interests of England in this country. I am told from good authority that it is surprising the partiality which the Great Duke has already conceived for the Court of Vienna.

[1] Czartoryski. See vol. i. p. 75, note 1.

[2] See p. 129.

General Wolkonski took leave of me two days ago. He is going to Smolensko to take upon him the command of that army which will consist of 30,000 men, besides a detached corps of 10,000 who are to obey him upon any emergency. These troops are exclusive of the forces of the Livonian division.

The Empress proposes in the spring to go to Revel and Riga, and also to visit the Duke of Courland at Mittau.

The Same to Mr. Mitchell.

Petersburg: March 16, 1764.

[Whatever may be the latest intentions of the many who are said to be dissatisfied in this country, outwardly there is an appearance of the greatest tranquillity. General Chernichow was, at his own hasty request, dismissed his employments with marks of resentment; but it has been expected every day for some time past that he would be restored, and I am assured that a declaration expressing the Empress's having pardoned him upon his acknowledging the impropriety of his behaviour was by her directions laid upon her table three weeks ago, though she has not as yet found time to sign it. Count Orlow is still in the greatest favour; but as to what you have heard of his party's gaining strength, I know not of whom it consists, except his own relations and most immediate connections. Bestucheff, indeed, pays great court to him, but it is as wanting to avail himself of his support, not as being able to give him any. We expect every day the return of a courier from Berlin, who it is supposed will bring directions to Count Solms to sign the Treaty of Alliance. It is said that the difficulties which have hitherto delayed the conclusion of it were the two following: his Prussian Majesty would not engage to march his troops unless some other Powers previously commenced hostilities, and he also demanded that Russia should supply his army with forage and some other articles upon their entering Poland.[1] As her Imperial Majesty acquiesces in the first, it is not to be supposed that the King of Prussia will insist upon the latter. I believe Prince Dolguruki does not receive much information from his Court.]

[1] This condition was attached in the form of a note to the separate and secret articles. See *Polit. Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten*, xxiii. 306, Frederic to the Count de Solms, March 15, 1763.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

General Chernichow[1] is incontestably the best officer in the Russian service. He has method, application, and intelligence; if he is wanting in the day of battle it will more probably be the fault of his heart than of his head. He is Vice-President of the Council, and does the functions of our Secretary at War.

From newspapers and other superficial reading he has imbibed some wild ideas of liberty, and in consequence upon a slight occasion resigned his employment. Full leisure was given him to repent; at last he was obliged to humble himself before the man (Gregori Gregorievitch Orlow) whom most he hates, and was only through his intercession restored to his former situation. This gentleman was supposed to be a favourite of the Grand Duchess in the days of the Empress Catherine, after Soltikow and before Poniatowski was known in Russia.

Many suspect him of not being very sincere. Certainly he is the best of the three brothers, which those who knew them will not think a very exaggerated compliment. His elder brother was long minister in England, where his abilities and qualifications are fully known. The younger has the direction of the navy; till he accompanied the Empress to Riga he scarcely knew a man-of-war from a wherry. This last has a great deal of vivacity, a flow of words, and a sort of knowledge which enables him to reason superficially upon many subjects. He does the English the honour to allow them to be the best seamen in the universe, also that they excell all other nations in the great general ideas of commerce, but esteems the French to be our superiors in the little refinements of it. He is very fond of the Parliament, and desires me to get the Acts (I suppose he meant the statutes) at large translated into French, at his expense, and send them to him. Without making any remark I promised he should have them when translated.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: March 20 (N.S.), 1764.

Upon looking over my dispatch of the last post there appears to me an ambiguity of expression in one part of it, which I

[1] **Zachar Grigorievitch Chernichow, or Tchernicheff (1722–1784). His elder brother was Peter, the younger Ivan. (See *Recueil des Instructions: Russie*, ii. pp. 178, 179, 217.)**

think it may be better to explain. What I suspect to be the plan of M. Panin is to form a system with England, Holland, and Prussia to oppose the formidable league of the Houses of Austria and Bourbon.

I am informed that the Imperial minister demanded answers from this Court, in rather a peremptory style, to these questions: Who was the candidate to the Crown of Poland whom the Czarina wished to favour? Whether she would support him at all events, and what were the engagements she was entering into with the King of Prussia? He was desired to give them in writing, but declined it; however he let them be entered in the protocol. It is said the Empress intended to have given a very warm answer, but afterwards thought proper to delay it till she could hear from Berlin.

It is with concern that I mention to your Lordship the very unsettled appearance that everything wears here, and the particular freedom of speech which prevails in a country where formerly the greatest discretion used to be observed.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: March 27 (N.S.), 1764.

It is strongly reported that the Chinese have actually taken possession of three of the silver mines, but these are facts which it is extremely difficult to ascertain, as the greatest pains are taken to keep secret all the intelligence which comes from that part of the Empire.

The crew of an English ship which was wrecked in the neighbourhood of Cola having been very ill-treated by some officers who commanded there, the Empress, immediately upon the first representation made by the consul, dispatched an officer of the Guards to take cognisance of the affair and punish the offenders. I took an opportunity on Sunday of expressing my sensibility of this mark of attention to the English nation. She assured me that the transaction had given her most serious concern, and that she thought it necessary upon such an occasion to act with the greatest severity.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: March 31 (N.S. , 1764.

The courier from Berlin is returned. I was yesterday, in the evening, with M. Panin, who informed me that the difficulties which retarded the conclusion of the Prussian Treaty being now all removed it would be signed immediately. He also promised me the earliest communication of the purport of it. In our conversation he gave me, though distantly, to understand that possibly that treaty's being finally settled might contribute ultimately to promote the alliance of England with Russia. As I have the pleasure of living upon terms of friendship and confidence with him I asked him, upon that footing, whether he really thought that it was the intention of his Court to bring on the consideration of the Treaty of Commerce at this time. He assured me of its being his firm opinion that in less than a month, when some business of a more immediate, urgent nature had been dispatched, it would be attended to.

Your Lordship will have received from Mr. Wroughton a particular account of the present state of affairs in Poland, where there is some reason to apprehend that great confusion may ensue. M. Panin mentioned to me that upon the Crown General having assembled the Army, which is a step in the interregnum not only contrary to the statutes of the Republick, but to the express oath which he takes at the time of his being appointed, the Primate had wrote him a most warm remonstrance. I am informed from another quarter that the Czartoryskis have desired to be supported by a body of two thousand Russians, and that the Empress has engaged to furnish them, but at first sight there appears something so injudicious in sending so small a force, which would only give offence without being of any particular utilility, that, however the fact is asserted, nothing but the event will convince me this Court would march any body of men into that country which was not sufficiently numerous to have a probability of securing the object for which it was employed.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: March 31 (N.S.), 1764.

In my dispatch of the 20th of this month I took notice of some questions which the Imperial minister had asked of the ministers of this Court yesterday. M. Panin was pleased, after previously desiring that the communication might be kept as secret as possible, to read to me the papers which related to that transaction, as well as to the protocol which had been taken of what Prince Lobkowitz[1] had verbally delivered as to what he has since given in writing, with the answers which this Court has given to each. There was no mention made in either of the King of Prussia, but the purport of those in the protocol[2] were to know who was the candidate the Czarina interested herself for, by what means she intended to assist him, if she would oppose the election of a Prince of the House of Saxony, supposing he was supported by a majority of electors; and there was also an insinuation little short of a conditional declaration of war in case a Russian army marched into Poland. In the written queries the style was greatly softened, and the implied threat absolutely omitted. In the answers of this Court the Czarina names no particular candidate. She mentions the expediency of chusing a Piast, and expatiates upon the Russian Empire's, from its particular situation, being more immediately interested in the affairs of Poland than any other country, that, therefore, the long connection which has subsisted between this Court and the Empress Queen ought to dispose her to favour their views, that, as to the family of Saxony, their real interest in Poland was so inconsiderable that nothing but foreign influence can give any of that House a chance of succeeding. The answer to the threat is spiritedly and properly turned, and the style of those to the protocol and to the queries delivered in writing are well adapted to the spirit of each, but, as M. Panin read very fast, and we were more than once interrupted, I cannot be so particular as I could otherwise have wished. It is difficult to conceive what the House of Austria proposed to themselves by this measure, for it is impossible they could imagine that it would

[1] Austrian envoy to St. Petersburg since the end of 1763.

[2] A copy of this protocol, the gist of which is given here, is among Lord Buckinghamshire's papers. See also *P.R.O., Russia*, vol. lxxxv.

have the effect of deterring this Court from an undertaking in which they are now so fully engaged. One consequence is obvious, that it will contribute to alienate the mind of the Czarina, already greatly disgusted with the Empress Queen. I cannot omit taking notice of one expression which fell from M. Panin, that he thought it a difficult point to decide whether a war would first break out between England and the Bourbon family or his Prussian Majesty and the Court of Vienna.

I was a little surprised when he mentioned to me that the Czarina, in looking over her papers, had found that she was indebted 44,000 roubles to the Court of England for money with which she had been assisted during the time that Sir Charles Williams resided in this country, and that, as she was paying all the debts which she had contracted when Great Duchess, she was also desirous of acquitting this.[1] I answered with some concern that it was an inconsiderable object which I was persuaded my Court had forgot, and took notice that it gave me some uneasiness to have it mentioned at a time when the negotiations between the two countries had not taken exactly that turn which might have been wished. I evidently perceived that he was prepared for this remark, and he immediately replied that the Empress would be particularly concerned if this was understood in an improper light; that, on the contrary, as her necessities had made her feel the utility of the assistance at that time, she should ever retain the most grateful sense of those early marks of the friendship of England. He then asked me in what manner I would receive the money, to which I answered that I could take no steps in an affair of that nature without his Majesty's particular instructions.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: April 3 (N.S.), 1764.

I can now give your Lordship an account, which I believe to be authentic, of the treaty with the King of Prussia, and it is rather a surprise to me to find that that Prince has given way so much to the propositions of this Court. The general stipulations of the defensive alliance are the same as in the old treaty. His Prussian Majesty engages by a secret article to support Poniatowski, and,

[1] See vol. i. p. 35.

supposing any confederation is entered into against him, obliges himself, as soon as the Russian troops are in motion, upon the requisition of her Imperial Majesty, to march 20,000 men into Poland.[1] By another article the parts of Holstein of which he is at present in possession are guaranteed to the Great Duke.

The intelligence brought by the last courier from Warsaw was not very favourable, and it is suspected that the corps of Russians, from 2,000 to 4,000 men, as mentioned in my last, will march into Poland. If this event takes place, and the Poles, presuming upon the smallness of their number, should attack these troops, it will give a pretence for any violent measures this Court may chuse in consequence to adopt.

The Empress, from her unavoidable expenses, is, as I am assured, really in distress for money, and an insinuation has been made me that very lately, when the Treaty of Alliance with England was agitated, it was said, Why should we enter into any engagements with a nation who, from their impending war with France, will so soon require our assistance, without previously securing some advantage to ourselves, and obtaining the supply which we are at present so much in want of? This agrees with the language which, as your Lordship will recollect M. Panin has held to me, and, I am persuaded, proceeds partly from their present necessities, partly from the Vice-Chancellor's comments upon Mr. Woronzow's intelligence.

I am sorry to take notice to your Lordship that notwithstanding his Majesty's views in this country have not succeeded as he expected, yet that any alteration in the administration would be disadvantageous to the interests of England. If my judgment does not greatly deceive me the event will justify this assertion.

Bestucheff has very little influence upon the conduct of her Imperial Majesty, and it is a tolerable proof of it that lately she has more than once given packets which he sent to her to M. Panin without breaking the seal.

The Court of Denmark solicit the renewal of their antient treaty; and, I am told, offer by a secret article to engage themselves to support the system of Russia in Poland by every step short of hostilities.

[1] See also for these articles *P.R.O., Russia*, vol. lxxxv.

Lord Stormont to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Vienna: April 4, 1764.

. . . [*Cypher*] May I beg leave to ask your Lordship what impression the declarations[1] delivered to the Primate of Poland by the Imperial minister and the French ambassador have made at your Court? I should think the style and manner of them (particularly of the Court of France) cannot but offend. The object of those declarations is to endeavour to intimidate the Russian party in Poland, to lure with hopes the opposite faction, and if possible to prevent the Empress of Russia supporting the cause she has espoused by her apprehension of difficulties and consequences which I am convinced never will nor can exist. France is at too great a distance to have much weight in the scale, and I am persuaded that whatever language this Court may hold, they have no thoughts of embarking in a new war for the affairs of Poland. Your Lordship will have observed that their declaration is more decent and guarded than that of France. The ostensible reason they give for making this declaration is that it was a step the Empress Queen owed to her own dignity as a great neighbouring Power, but I am assured that they own in private that it was extorted from them by the importunate solicitations of the Courts of France and Saxony, and that they are determined to stop here and, in short, content themselves with talking big, and let those high-sounding declarations avail what they may, but never attempt to support them by any overt acts. I am persuaded they will adhere to that plan, so wise and necessary in the present situation of affairs, and I own my opinion with regard to the ensuing election in Poland remains invariably the same, that if the Court of Petersburg and Berlin are really united, and the Empress of Russia continues to act with her usual wisdom and steadiness, the success of this is morally speaking sure. [*End of Cypher.*]

[1] The declarations to the effect that they viewed Poland as a sovereign and independent State, which had a right to exercise all the prerogatives given her by her constitution, without limitation and exception, and specially that of free election, upon which no condition or exclusion should be imposed by exterior influence; that they had no other desire than to see the Polish nation maintained in *all* her possessions and *all* her liberties, &c. (See Buckinghamshire Papers.)

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Sir Joseph Yorke.

Petersburg: April 6, 1764.

[The information you give me of the dispositions in which M. Gross went to England cannot but be particularly agreeable to me. I wish he may be able to smooth those difficulties which have hitherto obstructed my negotiations, for divesting myself of all partiality, and of that solicitude which every man naturally feels for the success of those points which are more immediately intrusted to his care, I cannot but consider our alliance with Russia as the only proper basis for a system which may secure the tranquillity of Europe, and enable us to keep in awe the insolence and ambition of France and the ingratitude of the Court of Vienna. England and Russia once agreed, the King of Prussia, whose inclination is ever subservient to his interest, would in all probability seek to be included in the connection. Your situation enables you to judge how far the States-General would be disposed when those three powers were united to make the fourth. I have reason to believe that this Court would have no great difficulty in persuading the Danes to relinquish their French connections and make part of such a league.]

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Friday, April 6, 1764.

Achmet Effendi, the Turkish Internonce, will have his audience of leave one day next week, and set out forthwith for his own country. [*Cypher*] Whether anything be yet agreed between the Ottoman Porte and this Court is an absolute secret. I am glad to find by your Lordship's letter that the report concerning the discontent and disturbances in Russia have so little foundation. However, I have reason to believe that they found credit at this Court and caused some uneasiness to his Prussian Majesty, as it is natural to think. If any misfortune should happen to the Empress of Russia, the King of Prussia may be exposed to a new war on account of the part he has already taken with regard to the election of a King of Poland. I confess I am amazed the Treaty of Alliance between his Prussian Majesty and the Empress of Russia has been negotiated without any communication being made to

his Majesty on the part of the King of Prussia. The diffidence that monarch may have of the King's present ministers is not a sufficient reason for such a conduct. I shall, however, be glad to be informed by your Lordship what other articles are contained in that Treaty besides those mentioned in your letter which relates to the election of a King of Poland. Nabacow, who accompanied Prince Repnin to this Court, and has remained with Prince Dolguruki ever since, sets out in a few days for Petersburg. If he should ask a letter for your Lordship I shall give him one, but at the same time inform you that I have no confidence in him. He was bred in England under Count Chernichow, and afterwards attached to M. Schuwalow, the favourite of the late Empress, and, far as I am able to judge, notwithstanding his English education, has retained that duplicity and dissimulation said to be inherent in his countrymen.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: April 6 (N.S.), 1764.

I have taken pains for some days past to get authentick information of the situation of the present disputes with China, as the greatest secrecy is observed in relation to everything that passes on that side. The following, though by no means so satisfactory as I could wish, is the best account I can obtain. In the year 1762 the Chinese seized upon a district of about 20 miles in depth in which, though there are at present no mines, it is imagined that the soil is of such a nature that mines might be worked to advantage. Of this they still keep possession, but no hostilities have been committed since, and both sides continue upon the defensive. Whether this is the truth, or those reports which make it an affair of a more serious nature, in either case it must employ some part of the Russian forces. I have not heard of Sir John Goodricke's arrival at Stockholm, but it was hinted to me yesterday that he would find everything in a good way in that country, as there was a great probability of a proper balance being maintained between the crown party and those who are influenced by France.

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whitehall: April 13, 1764.

The behaviour of M. Michell,[1] the Prussian minister at this Court, having long given just cause of offence, his Majesty finds himself at last under the necessity of ordering his minister at Berlin to apply to that Court to have him recalled.

If this should be attended with any disagreeable consequences, your Excellency will take care to remove or prevent the impressions which the Court of Berlin would endeavour to make upon the Russian ministry, it not being at all his Majesty's intention to break with the King of Prussia, but, on the contrary, to show his desire of living upon terms of friendship with that Prince, by giving him an opportunity of sending a minister to this Court, with whom his Majesty's servants may freely communicate, instead of one whose conduct is in every respect so beneath the character which he bears, and whose whole purpose seems calculated to set the two Crowns at variance.

It is natural to suppose that his Prussian Majesty will by no means support a minister so unworthy of his protection, but I thought it not improper to apprise your Excellency of the steps which are taking, that you may not be unprovided with an answer, in case that, contrary to expectations, this affair should take a different turn from what ought to be expected.

In order to inform your Excellency more fully of what has passed on this occasion, I inclose to you a copy of my letter of the 9th past to Mr. Mitchell, together with his answer, and the instructions thereupon sent to him by this courier.

Your Excellency will likewise do well to take the first opportunity of giving the Russian ministers to understand in the course of your conversation that, when you are recalled, it is always his Majesty's intention that you should be replaced by a minister of equal rank to M. Gross.

I was extremely pleased with a conversation I had yesterday with this minister, wherein he expressed himself with the openness and sincerity of a well-intentioned man, and of one who studied the real interests of his Court; he told me freely that he had not

[1] Abraham Ludwig Michell. See for the reasons of the discontent of the English Court in this matter vol. i. p. 58, and p. 143 of this volume.

yet received any particular instructions upon the affairs in question, but that they were promised him, and he did not doubt but that he should soon receive them.

I find Prince Galitzin is his great friend and patron, and it is, therefore, highly probable that if they are sincerely disposed to renew the antient alliances, the Vice-Chancellor will endeavour to throw into his hands as much share in the negotiation as his weight can give him. I mention this to your Excellency that you may avail yourself of the information, and may take occasion to speak of M. Gross in a manner which his behaviour hitherto really deserves, and which may, at the same time, put his patron into good humour.

[*Enclosure.*]

Lord Sandwich to Mr. Mitchell.

Whitehall: March 9, 1764.

Your separate and most secret letter, of the 25th past, has been received, and considered with all the seriousness and attention which the subject of it requires.

Your reflections upon the very extraordinary answer returned to your repeated applications, through the Prussian Secretaries of State, were just and proper; for it certainly conveys, if not an avowal, at least a tacit approbation, of all which has been said or done, by the Prussian minister at this Court.

The assertion of his having been approved of here, for almost twenty years, as well as the pretended temper and moderation with which his despatches are said to be written, would not deserve an answer, if this was the language only of the secretaries; but as you are told that it comes from other, and that direct, authority, some notice may be taken of it, in respect to the high character of the person by whom such reasoning is supposed to be advanced, but by no means in consideration of its force and validity.

As to the first assertion, during the greatest part of the period mentioned, the transactions between the two Courts were of so little importance, and this gentleman, left only in quality of a secretary, could hardly fall under the observation of this Court; and he began then only to be noticed when the large share this Crown took in the affairs of the Court of Berlin called M. Michell out of his obscurity, and made him be considered, not upon

account of any personal merit in himself, but as the minister of a Prince whose cause was supported by Great Britain as zealously and as effectually as if it had been our own.

As to the merit of his dispatches, the part which this minister avowedly continues to take in the factions of this country is evidence as strong to the contrary as if his letters were laid open to the perusal of the King's servants; for what minister would dare to insult the understanding of his master by writing (as is asserted) in a manner by no means calculated to destroy or diminish the union and good understanding which so happily subsists between the two Crowns, at the same time that his language and behaviour here would contradict every letter which was written with that temper and moderation which the Prussian Secretaries of State have declared to be the tenor of M. Michell's dispatches?

The case of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, of which Count Finckenstein seems to be ignorant, is so far similar to the present that he was complained of by order of his Prussian Majesty, and recalled at his particular desire,[1] but there was this remarkable difference in that affair, that his late Majesty consented to the recall of his minister merely at the instance of the King of Prussia, without any particular fault laid to his charge—a person too of great rank, family, and abilities; a sacrifice which the Court of Berlin have it not in their power to return, in the present instance.

The many proofs which his Majesty has given of his friendly disposition towards the King of Prussia, and the very signal one which you received in my dispatch, by Roworth the messenger, require a suitable correspondence from that Court.

How far their inclinations are disposed to cultivate this spirit of friendship will appear by the answer. In the meantime you will continue to make the most serious representation, in a cool and steady manner; and when the result of your endeavours shall be known here his Majesty will then take his final resolution upon this subject.

[1] In 1750. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams afterwards acted as Frederic's intermediary with Peter III.—when Grand Duke—in 1755-6. See Mitchell Papers, Add. MSS. B.M. 6844.

[*Enclosure.*]

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Sandwich.

Berlin: March 27, 1764.

Since my last of the 24th I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 9th instant, the contents of which I thought not proper to be communicated to Count Finckenstein, as he had flatly declined meddling any more in the affair of the recall of the Prussian minister at London, of which I acquainted your Lordship in my letter of the 3rd of this month.

It is to no purpose to argue with the ministers here, as they have not the courage to report to their master what is told them; much less dare they insinuate what may be the consequence of a false or rash step; and I have carefully avoided, in all the conferences I have had, the throwing out of anything that may be construed a menace, or even attempting to guess at what part the King may take upon receiving so very extraordinary answers.

[*Enclosure.*]

Lord Sandwich to Mr. Mitchell.

April 13, 1764.

I have received your letters of the 27th past, and was extremely surprised to find that you should excuse yourself from communicating to Count Finckenstein the orders which you had received in my letter of the 9th, and that you assign as a reason that he had declared to you some time ago that he would not meddle any more in the affair of the Prussian minister at this Court.

If you could possibly have wanted any incitement to execute orders so clear and explicit, it should have arisen from that very declaration which you allege as a cause for not having complied with your instructions. If the Prussian ministers have not the courage (as you describe them) of fairly representing to their master the remonstrances which officially come before them, how would they venture to risque the consequences of your taking the only step which would then be left, that of your applying to the King of Prussia in person, and of acquainting him that his ministers refused to undertake a commission, though apparently

calculated to promote the friendship and harmony subsisting between the two crowns?

I must now, therefore, sir, refer you once again to your former instructions upon this subject, and particularly to my letter of the 9th past, and if you find the least backwardness on the part of the ministers at your Court to lay your representations, in their full extent, before their master, you must acquaint them with your orders to demand an audience of his Prussian Majesty as soon as he shall return to Berlin, in which you are to explain to him the reasons of addressing yourself to him, and are to convince that Prince that, so far from aiming to interrupt the harmony happily subsisting between the two Courts, your commission is calculated to preserve it entire, and that his Majesty cannot give a stronger proof of his attention to that object than by desiring to have a minister sent him, who would know how to support the character with which he was invested, would understand and promote the true interests of his master, and preserve that respect which is due to the Court where he would have the honour to reside.

That the King should apply for the removal of a minister who has essentially failed in all these particulars will not be so surprising to his Prussian Majesty as that moderation and magnanimity which has borne with him so long.

You will not forget in this audience to make a proper use of Sir Charles Williams's case, which has been fully explained to you in my letter of the 9th, and avail yourself of an example so far superior to the present demand.

I need not recommend to you in the prosecution of this affair a proper calmness, as so friendly and amicable a remonstrance naturally carries that idea with it, nor a suitable firmness becoming the character which you have the honour to bear. I would only suggest to you that dispatch is always useful, and more so perhaps in the present instance, as it is a proof of seriousness and resolution.

If your representations should not produce the effect which it is just and natural to expect, but the King of Prussia should be determined to support the conduct of his minister here, you will then dispatch Roworth back with an account of all the particulars relative to this business, and after waiting some days, that your departure may not appear too abrupt, you will acquaint the

Prussian Ministry that his Majesty, having been graciously pleased, in consideration of your past services and ill state of health, to grant you some time ago your letters of recall, with a permission to make use of them as you should find most convenient to your own private affairs, you therefore meant to avail yourself of the King's gracious indulgence, as you could not help feeling yourself extremely mortified at succeeding so ill in a commission which was so entirely calculated to strengthen the friendship and union subsisting between the two Courts, and from whence you had hoped to gain the approbation of your own Court, and some degree of esteem from his Prussian Majesty.

After this you will deliver your letters of recall in the usual manner (which are herewith inclosed), and dated agreeably to your intended declaration, and, without waiting for further orders, you will repair with all convenient speed to his Majesty's presence.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: April 13 (N.S.), 1764.

I was yesterday in the evening with M. Panin, who informed me of what I had before received intelligence, that the treaty with the King of Prussia was signed on Wednesday last. . . .

It was no small concern to me to find the style of his conversation with regard to our negotiations greatly altered from that which I mentioned in my dispatch of March 31. What I drew from him was politely and cautiously worded, but the purport it carried was that the Treaty of Commerce could not be entered into immediately, or with the same favourable spirit, unless there was an appearance of England's being disposed to unite her interests intimately with those of Russia, and that no Treaty of Alliance could really cement the friendship of the two countries unless we entered into the views of Russia in the North, and particularly in Poland. I must do M. Panin that justice to assure your Lordship that from the manner in which he treated the subject (which coincided greatly with intelligence which I had received from a person in whom I confide) he has tried in vain to persuade the Empress to enter at this time into the Treaty of Commerce, and that the language he now holds is dictated by her. I mentioned to him the report that the Court of Copenhagen solicited the

renewal of their antient treaty. He answered that it was very true, and took notice that as at this time, from his confidence in the good dispositions of the Empress, the King of Denmark had no longer the same jealousies with regard to the affairs of Holstein, he would certainly be inclined to enter with her into the same great system for to balance that formidable League of France and Austria which now seemed daily to gain strength. When I took leave of him I expressed strongly the real uneasiness it gave me that it should be my lot to leave the affairs of the two countries in so disagreeable a situation. He insinuated that he was of opinion that the coolness England had expressed in relation to Poland arose from some degree of resentment at M. Woronzow's behaviour, and that he flattered himself, when his Majesty's ministers were convinced that gentleman had acted contrary to the intentions of his Court, everything would appear in a different light, adding that the idea which my Court had conceived, that if England interested herself in the Polish election it would induce the French also to take a part, was ill-founded, as, on the contrary, it might have deterred them from entering into those intrigues in which they were now so deeply engaged. He showed me, as he had done ten days before, a paper, which he told me contained particular instructions which he was preparing for M. Gross, but that the attention so necessary at present to Poland had prevented him hitherto from compleating them. It is impossible for two Princes who are not in open war to feel more animosity that I am persuaded at this time exists between the Czarina and the Empress Queen, and the Austrian minister at this Court has neither the temper nor the manner calculated to conciliate their differences or mitigate their resentment. I have with some difficulty procured copies of the papers mentioned in my dispatch of March 31,[1] which I will send by the first proper opportunity. There is a spirit of irony in some of the answers of her Imperial Majesty, not perhaps quite judicious in a paper of so serious a nature, and which must tend to exasperate the Court of Vienna. I cannot but think from every circumstance that there is a great probability of a war's breaking out in Poland; it is evident that France and Austria are warmly disposed to oppose the measures of Russia, and nothing but their present exhausted situation and the want of necessary resources can prevent them.

[1] See p. 163.

Unless his Majesty's intention of sending me with my letters of recall a discretionary power of using them should alter, I shall defer asking for my audience of leave till your Lordship favours me with an answer to this letter, as well as instructions how to act in relation to the debt which the Empress desires to repay. However my own inclinations and private objects may induce me to wish to leave this country as soon as possible, yet I would a little delay my departure in the hope that some fortunate change of circumstances might prevent that coolness, which now will but too probably succeed to those intimate and natural connections which have so long subsisted between England and Russia.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: April 17 (N.S.), 1764.

The turn of my conversation yesterday with the Vice-Chancellor was such as to let him perceive that I expected soon to leave Russia without renewing the former engagements between the two countries; upon which he mentioned the Treaty of Commerce, and when I told him that now there were very little hopes of entering into it he expressed some surprise, and said that then I knew more than he did. He insinuated that, as M. Panin had undertaken to bring on the consideration of that negotiation, the delay must be attributed to him, and that with regard to the Treaty of Alliance it had been stopped by the absolute negative which my Court had sent to all their propositions. The Empress is determined very soon to abolish the post of Hetman of the Ukraine, not, perhaps, upon the whole an injudicious resolution, but no small mortification to the person [1] who now holds that office, though she proposes to make him a kind of compensation. He was the man to whom she principally owed her crown, and the only one who from a disinterested regard supported her. He risqued everything and could gain nothing, as it was not in her power to raise him to a higher situation than that which he already possessed. Perhaps his ingratitude and treachery to an affectionate friend and gracious Sovereign deserved some punishment, but surely it does not quite become his successor to inflict it. Mr. Wroughton will have sent your Lordship an account of the late disturbances in Polish

[1] Cyril Grigorievitch Rozoumowski. See vol. i. pp. 61, 68.

Prussia. I would intreat his Majesty's permission to stop on my return for some little time at Berlin and Dresden.

P.S.—The Empress's expedition to Riga, though much talked of, is certainly very problematical. She insists upon taking the Great Duke with her, to which great objection is made by those who think his health too precarious to be risked in an unnecessary journey. I fancy she will not be easily persuaded to leave him behind.[1]

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: April 20 (N.S.), 1764.

I sent yesterday to M. Panin, in consequence of a desire he had expressed some time ago, a most accurate account [2] of the exports and imports made by the English factory at Petersburg. I had taken all the pains in my power to have everything properly stated. The value of the exports, including the duties and incidental charges, amounts to 3,465,000 roubles, the value of the imports to 910,000 roubles; balance in favour of Russia 2,555,000 roubles.

As it was necessary to explain some parts of the account, I accompanied it with a letter in which I strongly expressed my concern to find that there was now scarcely any probability of our negotiations being brought to a present conclusion, and mentioned particularly my surprise that Russia should be so little sensible of the advantages she derives from her commerce with the English, as to leave them any doubts with regard to her intentions of continuing to their merchants all the former privileges. I took notice also of the real importance of the Treaty of Alliance in the present most critical situation of Europe, and concluded with desiring the continuance of his friendship and esteem during the little time I might as yet have to remain at Petersburg.[3] M.

[1] 'At the time the Court went to Riga,' says Lord Buckinghamshire in the *Russian Memoranda*, 'the Empress proposed and Orlow was particularly eager that the Grand Duke should be inoculated, but the idea was overruled by M. Panin and by many others.'

[2] This paper is to be found in the Appendix of vol. i.

[3] To this Lord Buckinghamshire added the following comments on the trade:—

1. That Russia now consumes much less of English manufactures.
2. That the cost of provisions brought to England from Russia is increased by one-third, particularly that of isinglass.
3. That the cost of living in St. Petersburg is double what it was ten years ago.

(To M. Panin, August 1, 1794, *Buckinghamshire Papers*.)

Panin, as he was not well, excused himself from writing an answer, but said he would take the first opportunity of conversing with me upon the subject.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: April 24 (N.S.), 1764.

This being Easter week the foreign ministers have little communication with those of this Court. The purport of his Prussian Majesty's letter to the Empress was to inform her of a report which does not, however, gain much credit, that there was an intention of proposing one of the Archdukes as a candidate for the Crown of Poland. Every day produces fresh instances in which the Court of Vienna try to tease and mortify her Imperial Majesty. I am assured that Count Mercy, the late Austrian ambassador at Petersburg, insinuates at Warsaw almost in direct terms that to his knowledge it is impossible she should long continue upon the throne of Russia. This I have the greatest reason to believe has been mentioned to her, and it's easy to judge of the effect such language must have upon her, especially when coming from a minister to whom she has so lately shown the greatest civilities. Several persons also who have sums of money due to them from the Duchy of Holstein have lately, as it is supposed at the instigation of the Court of Vienna, petitioned against the Czarina as tutress of her son. Some other trifles which, though in themselves almost too inconsiderable to be mentioned, contribute to feed the flame which already blazes. Such, in short, at this time is the temper of her Imperial Majesty that it would not be difficult to provoke her to recall at once her minister from Vienna. By the accounts from thence, which I imagine agree with what your Lordship receives, there is very little reason to think that the Empress Queen means to take an active part in Poland. Some late conduct of the Court of Denmark, supposed to have been occasioned by the French ambassador through the channel of Count Molk, has greatly displeased this Court, and it has been hinted to me that unless his Danish Majesty goes back from it his projected treaty with this Court will no more be attended to. Since the conclusion of the treaty with his Court, the Prussian minister has behaved to me with much more cordiality and confidence. He very lately gave it as his opinion that the present circumstances of Europe made an alliance between Russia, Prussia,

and England particularly expedient. It is now believed that the intended journey to Riga will scarcely take place.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: April 27 (N.S.), 1764.

It will be, at the time your Lordship receives this, no news in England that his Prussian Majesty has sent the Great Order of the Black Eagle to Count Poniatowski, though it is at present made a secret here. I have great reason to believe that if the King of Denmark persists in his intention of accepting the Emperor's confirmation of his son as coadjutor of Lübeck that not only there will be no alliance, but a consequential coldness between the Czarina and his Danish Majesty.[1] Notwithstanding the insinuations which it is said are made by the Court of Vienna that they will not take any farther step in the affairs of Poland, I much doubt of their real dispositions, as from the character of Count Mercy, as well as my own personal knowledge of him, I am persuaded he would not have held at Warsaw language so particularly offensive to this Court without the fullest instructions, nor is it to be supposed that the Empress Queen would have taken every possible step to procure to herself the enmity of the Czarina if she was not very warmly engaged with those who oppose her (at this time) capital object—the election of Poniatowski in Poland. I have no doubt but the Courts of Vienna and Versailles will do their utmost to raise domestick uneasiness here.

Lord Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whitehall: April 27, 1764.

[*Cypher*] Having received his Majesty's commands upon the subject of your Lordship's separate and most secret letter of the 31st past, I am to acquaint you that you are to endeavour to avoid accepting the 10,000*l.* offered you in repayment for that

[1] See for this vol. i. p. 67. Catherine's maternal grandfather, of the House of Holstein Gottorp, was hereditary Bishop of Lübeck, and this bishopric was now claimed by the King of Denmark, who was of the elder and royal branch of the House of Holstein. (See for some of the ramifications of the Holstein question 'Notes on the Diplomatic Correspondence between England and Russia,' in the *Transactions of R. Hist. Soc.* xlv. new series, 150, 160.)

sum advanced by this Crown to her Imperial Majesty when Great Duchess, and that you are to take occasion to let the Empress know that the King has a peculiar satisfaction in the remembrance she retains of this transaction as far as it carries an expression of the earnest and sincere friendship of this Crown, but that in itself it is not an object of consequence enough for her Majesty to be at all solicitous about repayment. It would not be improper for your Excellency to avail yourself of this opportunity to renew the assurances of his Majesty's steady and invariable friendship to the Czarina, and to express how much he should be concerned if the affairs of Poland, in which it is impossible for this Crown, consistently with its situation, to take an active part, should occasion any doubt of the King's not interesting himself extremely in whatever may tend to the advantage of Russia. That he is ready, as he has always been, to concur by his good offices in the Czarina's views, which he could not second in an open and vigorous manner without being the first to kindle a new war, just as he has restored peace to Europe after such an expense of blood and treasure. I must add, in confidence to your Excellency, that Count Keyserling, having desired to know from his Majesty's Resident at Warsaw what was the obstacle which retarded our negotiations at Petersburg, and, having offered at the same time to make use of his influence to give them activity, Mr. Wroughton has been furnished with an answer something similar to what I have just mentioned upon the affairs of Poland.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*This letter was not sent.*] Petersburg: May 5 (N.S.), 1764.

Wednesday being the Empress's birthday there was a ball at Court; the foreign ministers and nobility had the honour of supping with her Imperial Majesty, who was pleased upon that occasion to be particularly gracious to me. The Great Duke was prevented by a cold from appearing in the evening. Notwithstanding his frequent indispositions I am assured by those about him, who could have no interest in deceiving me, that his constitution is really good, and that it is only his having been constantly kept from the air by the ill-judged care of the Empress Elizabeth which makes him liable to catch cold upon every occasion.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: May 11 (N.S.), 1764.

The Prussian Treaty and the secret Article relative to Poland, which I have seen, are of a nature to be made publick without giving offence to any European Power. The Treaty is defensive, stipulating a succour of 1,200 men, and is to last eight years. The secret Article is little more than a declaration to support the liberties of the Republick and a free election in Poland. Notwithstanding the first information given me upon that head was contradicted (as I thought) by good authority, I am now assured that the Great Duke's possessions in Holstein are guaranteed.[1] The mutual engagement which the Czarina and the King of Prussia enter into to support the election of Poniatowski is a distinct convention. As M. Gross will soon communicate the Treaty to your Lordship I will mention nothing farther, especially as I write only from memory. The Great Chancellor, notwithstanding his having so earnestly solicited leave of absence for two years, upon account of his ill-health, desires now to return in September, at the time when that season begins which his constitution can the least resist. The intrigues of the Court of Vienna have occasioned this step; nor is the Empress herself a stranger to the motives which determine it. Whether he will return is uncertain; if he should there is no doubt but that such influence as he may have, will be exerted to the utmost to overthrow the present system. In this he will be zealously supported by the Vice-Chancellor, who betrayed some symptoms of satisfaction when I communicated to him the contents of your Lordship's dispatch by the courier. I have this morning received information that this Court is taking every possible step to determine the King of Prussia to recall a minister from England so little calculated to promote that friendship which it is undoubtedly his interest to cultivate; and I am happy to be able to assure your Lordship that there is every reason to believe that the sentiments and conduct of her Imperial Majesty will upon this occasion be such as the King could have wished. I could not help mentioning to the Vice-Chancellor and to M. Panin that the errors in M. Woronzow's conduct ought principally to be attributed to the insinuations and seductions of Baron Kniphausen and M.

[1] See for this Frederic to Solms, February 10, 1764, *Polit. Corresp.* xxiii. 275.

Michell.[1] There are still disturbances amongst the Guards, but little consequence is to be apprehended from them, as I do not suspect any person of weight in the country of wishing a revolution at this time. It has been publickly said that some of the Guards are to march towards Riga, etc., in order to attend the Empress; but I must still doubt either that those troops will march or her Imperial Majesty take that journey.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: M 15 (N.S.), 1764.

The Empress set out yesterday for Czarskoe Selo, where she proposes to remain about a fortnight. She has given directions for entering immediately into the consideration of the Treaty of Commerce; the Commissioners are now actually appointed, and I expect to meet them in a few days.

Count Bestucheff has been very dangerously ill, but is now much better. I yesterday received a letter from Sir John Goodricke, in which he desires me to express to the Ministry his sensibility of the particular marks of civility and confidence which he has met with from Count Ostermann[2] upon his arrival at Stockholm. Her Imperial Majesty will be particularly pleased to hear that his Majesty has actually a minister in Sweden, as it is not long since she expressed to me great solicitude upon that head.

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Hague: May 15, 1764.

Your Excellency's two letters of April 6 and 17 demand my most grateful acknowledgment, and particularly for the friendly expressions contained in the latter upon the late afflicting loss our family has sustained;[3] the only comfort he has left us is the memory of his goodness, and the esteem of his friends, both

[1] See for this p. 143, note.

[2] Count Ivan Andreevitch Ostermann (1724–1811), grandson of the Grand Chancellor under Anne. He became Catherine's minister for Foreign Affairs and Vice-Chancellor, and under Paul, Grand Chancellor of Russia. He was now ambassador at Stockholm.

[3] That of his father, Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke; died March 6, 1764.

which I shall be happy to deserve. We had flattered ourselves once that he had got over his illness, but too many doctors and a relapse deprived us in a few days afterwards of the best of fathers and of friends.

[*Cypher*] I entirely agree with you about the means of counterbalancing the Bourbon system, and sooner or later what your Lordship proposes must take place, and will be security enough; for as to the Court of Vienna, they are so deep with France, and so afraid of seeing France with Prussia again, that it will be labour in vain to attempt to form a system again there. From whence we can only expect bare civility, and since they have been so unwise as to cross in Poland the Czarina without any certainty of oversetting her plan, that Court is still less worth our while. The only thing that can suspend the decision of the Dutch in favour of this system is the defenceless state of the Austrian Netherlands, about which not a word has been said since the peace, nor is there any chance of the Empress Queen's entering into any reasonable plan which is to cost her money. . . . When the Prince of Orange comes of age, which will now be very soon, I do not at all despair of his following us, however, in any alliance which carries so substantial an appearance of security upon the face of it. Your Lordship asks whether we have, or have had, any dispute with the Dutch which has been carried pretty high. I can safely assure you it is all false; the only affair of altercation between us is between the two East India Companies, in which the Sovereigns are only mediators, and which is like to be as well settled as any affair can be, which is not understood and depends upon greedy traders who are become warriors instead of continuing merchants. Your Lordship may safely contradict all such reports. It is whispered that the French and we cannot settle our affairs about fishery at Newfoundand, nor about the Canadians' paper money, and in general that the old politics of that Court are still . . .[1] and the seeds of a new quarrel relates to Spain, so that what we have been talking about will become absolutely necessary at last. As to Spain, I see with pleasure my old friend Lord Rochford succeeds so well at that Court, and particularly with Grimaldi's rival and enemy, M. de Squillacci, who is the man we have the most to do with, and was in General Wall's[2] time as much French as he seems to be

[1] Cypher defective.

[2] The Spanish minister, who was succeeded by Grimaldi as first minister at

going the contrary way now, so that upon the whole peace has still some chance. [*Cypher ends.*]

We make no doubt here, from the disposition made by the Empress of Russia, that, in spite of those who mean and say the contrary, the peace of the north will be preserved, and Poland have a king at the proper time. Sir John Goodricke has acquainted me of his arrival at Stockholm. I beg leave to recommend him to your Excellency's countenance and favour; you will find him active, well informed, and well intentioned, and very happy to be of any service.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Sir John Goodricke.

Petersburg: May 15, 1764.

[It would be a particular pleasure to me if, when next you write, you would take some notice of the present state of partys in Sweden, as I cannot greatly depend upon the accounts which I can obtain here. I believe you will find the Baron de Breteuil an agreeable man and a busy, insinuating minister. His parts seemed to me rather brilliant than solid, and his information a little superficial.]

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: May 23 (N.S.), 1764.

I was yesterday in the evening with M. Panin, and in consequence of my instructions laboured as much as possible to divert her Imperial Majesty's intention of repaying the two-and-forty thousand roubles. By his manner I thought he was of my opinion, and he told me that he would acquaint the Empress with our conversation as soon as she returned to Petersburg. The language which your Lordship's dispatch directs me to hold in relation to the affairs of Poland is to the same tenor with that which I have invariably adhered to, ever since his Majesty's intention of not interfering in the future election was communicated to me. Upon this occasion, however, I rather expatiated more than formerly, and after having expressed in the strongest terms the dispositions of England to support to the utmost the interests of Russia in any circumstance where they were immediately concerned, I represented that at this time, when at the conclusion of a long and most

Madrid, September 1763. Grimaldi was one of the chief promoters of the Family Compact.

ruinous war, his Majesty's most gracious bounty to the publick and the indefatigable and truly meritorious attention and œconomy of those who direct the finances had so fully deserved the general applause of the English nation, it was but natural, no absolute emergency existing, to decline every measure by which a fresh expense of blood and treasure might be incurred. M. Panin in his answer insisted that this country was immediately interested in the affairs of Poland, that the French had not only assisted the Court of Saxony in the loan lately made at Amsterdam, but also would furnish them with such further supplys as to enable them to form the now projected confederation, and that the death of Madame de Pompadour must probably give greater weight to the Dauphiness, who would not fail to exert her influence to the utmost in the cause of her family.[1] Not only from what he said, but from other intelligence I have reason to suppose that the Empress is actually in want of money, and that she is fully of opinion that she ought to be assisted by England.

The Empress was in town for a few hours on Monday to give audience to Prince Lobkowitz, the present Envoy's brother, who is sent with the account of the election of the King of the Romans, and to a Polish nobleman deputed from the Confederation in Lithuania.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: May 30, 1764.

The Great General is retreating, as is imagined, to Kaminieck. He is supposed to have with him between 2,000 and 3,000 men, though the number lessens daily by the submission of several Polish *compagnies* and other of his troops to the authority of Prince Czartoryski, whom the Diet, by taking away the command of the army from the Great General, have declared *Régimentaire* in his stead. The Palatin of Kiovia, the Palatin of Wilna, and the Bishop of Cracow are no longer with him; they are each at their estates, and as we hear that there is a disunion of councils amongst them, that they have no money, or any hopes of assistance from abroad, I do not see any material opposition they can make to the success of the views of the Czartoryskis, supported by so considerable a power as the Court of Russia. The French and Austrian

[1] The House of Saxony.

ambassadors seem to be the great encouragers of Count Braniski and his adherents, but I believe give them neither money nor assurances of troops, but have talked much of the Turks, who, the Russian and Prussian ministers write, have determined not to meddle in the affairs of Poland, except to prevent the election of a foreign Prince. I represent things to your Lordship with the utmost impartiality as they really appear to me, and cannot figure to myself any other obstacle to the disposition of the Crown according to the views of Russia than the three months which the Diet has fixed for the time of election. We are here in the utmost tranquillity; the Diet continues very peaceably their affairs, and to-day I imagine the Duke of Courland, Biren, will be confirmed in the legal possession of his Duchy.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: June 1 (N.S.), 1764.

An officer of the Guards who was sent to China is returned. The Chinese decline receiving the Embassy from hence, and upon the whole there is too much reason to expect an open rupture. The Vice-Chancellor informs me that the appearances in Poland are now so favourable as to determine his Court to send instructions to General Wolkonski to remain at Smolensko till farther orders.

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Hague: June 2 (R.S.), 1764.

. . . You will easily imagine that we are all impatient to see the conclusion of the Polish Diet, but not more, I believe, than you are. The treaty lately concluded between her Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia gives umbrage at Versailles, and occasions a talk of a counter-alliance; in what this is to consist is not yet articulated, and when one considers the intimacy which still subsists between France and Austria it is difficult to conceive what defensive measures they can take further. We shall judge a little more surely of their view according as they open their purse-strings in Sweden; that is to me generally a political barometer with regard to the pacifick or hostile intentions of our neighbours.

Mr. Mitchell to the Same.

Berlin: Tuesday, June 5, 1764.

[*Cypher*] Count Finckenstein, when he informed me of the conclusion of the treaty between his Court and the Court of Russia, only told me it was upon the old plan and that a copy *in extenso* was to be communicated by the Prussian minister at London, etc. I am therefore much obliged to your Lordship for acquainting me with the substance of this treaty, but at the same time I must tell you no insinuation whatever has been made to me concerning the expediency of an alliance between England, Russia, and Prussia, though I well remember that during the course of the late war his Prussian Majesty often mentioned to me a project of that sort so soon as peace should be restored; perhaps the diffidence that monarch has of the King's Ministers may have prevented him from thinking of it since. There is yet nobody named to succeed the Prussian minister at London, occasioned, as I must suppose, by the King of Prussia's hurry with his military affairs;[1] as I am little acquainted with M. Gross I should be glad to know from your Lordship how your Court is pleased with him, and if he is esteemed at London, for hitherto he has endeavoured to do mischief at every Court where he has been employed.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: June 5 (N.S.), 1764.

If I am to credit the assurances which are given me from every quarter, they are determined to conclude the Treaty of Commerce upon equitable terms. As to the Treaty of Alliance, which (as far as I may be permitted to reason from my own superficial information) appears to me in the present general state of Europe an object of far more immediate importance, their language is still the same; they urge the expediency of such a connection and their own sincere disposition to cement it, but do not seem in the least disposed to waive that point which my instructions principally object to.

[1] Frederic wrote to Michell (May 28, 1764) that, as he now had little or nothing to negotiate with England, he purposed to leave there only some secretary to the embassy to take charge of his affairs, *Polit. Corr.* vol. xxiii. p. 398.

I am told the Chinese principally complain of the increase of dutys upon the commodities which they import into Russia; they are certainly very much dissatisfied. There is some reason to fear that the intrigues of the French and Austrian ministers, the united efforts of M. Panin's enemies, and above all the justifiable solicitude with which he remonstrates against the Empress's journey to Riga and the Great Duke's accompanying her, may lessen his credit with her Imperial Majesty.

P.S.—General Romanzow is to be advanced through the intrigues of Countess Bruce with the Orlow family. M. Panin is at present so popular, particularly with the army, that it would be rather a serious step to attempt to remove him, and I believe no pains will be spared by his friends to encourage him to maintain his situation.

Sir John Goodricke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Stockholm: June 6, 1764.

I found the affairs of this country in a very critical situation at my arrival here, the important point of an Extraordinary Diet being then under consideration, upon which, however, the Senate has declined taking any resolution before September 1 next.

Those who are best acquainted with the intrigues of this country are of opinion that the French party intend at that time to fix the Diet for the month of January, and in the meanwhile to take all proper measures to secure to themselves a majority, and consequently to establish their system, or, to speak more properly, their Government in Sweden, where their ambassador has for some years past directed everything, almost without controll; but having of late met with more opposition in the Senate than usual, he and his friends here are supposed to have taken the resolution to try if by means of a Diet they cannot put their affairs upon a more stable footing. I need not tell your Excellency that if they gain a majority in the secret committee, they can not only direct the system of this country with regard to foreign affairs for the present, but also leave such rules to the Senate for their future conduct as will influence it during the whole interval between this and a new Diet; besides which they would certainly place some more of their friends in the Senate, and then perhaps give that body more power than they have at present. These are only a few

of the consequences that would necessarily result from their being masters in the approaching Diet.

It seems, therefore, that not only the country where your Excellency now resides, but all in general who have reason to apprehend mischief either from the intrigues or the arms of France, are interested to prevent this project's taking place. The moment is now favourable for that purpose, but being lost may not be easily recovered. The people in general are well disposed to England, but as force of money has hitherto kept them under the French yoke, so it must be money on our side that delivers them from it,[1] and in case the King and the Empress of Russia should be disposed to make the expense jointly, there is the fairest appearance of success, for though it be impossible yet to judge with any degree of exactness how the several parties will range themselves at the Diet, one may see nevertheless that it is possible for us to form a very powerful one if we have money to support it.

There were three principal parties here towards the end of the last Diet—the French party, in which were included the friends of Denmark; the Court party, in which were included ours and those of Russia; and a third, composed of the malecontents of both the others, which may be called Mr. Hopken's Party, as he seems to be the head of them. They continue still thus divided, only with this difference, that some of those then in the Court party, and very good friends of ours, are become jealous of the civilities that have passed of late between two of the chiefs of the French party [2]

[1] The Queen of Sweden, despairing of active support from her brother, the King of Prussia, at this time made a direct appeal to George III. for pecuniary aid, that she might be independent of the French party at the ensuing Diet. In her memorial (which was secretly forwarded through Sir John Goodricke, June 15, 1764) she points out that the anarchy and misery which prevailed in Sweden came from the abuse of the constitution of 1720, which had placed almost the whole power in the hands of the Senate, and that body by corruption was so completely subject to France 'that she had come to rule Sweden with the same ease as if it were one of her own provinces.' Reform was urgently needed, but to carry reform the Queen must be able to command the Diet, and 'if it proved impossible to prevent her opponents from getting support from a foreign Power, she must combat them with the same weapons.' Hence English and Russian money was indispensable. See Goodricke to Earl of Sandwich, *R.O. Sweden*, vol. cxxviii.

[2] Baron Ulric Scheffer and Axel, Comte de Fersen—the latter the well known

and the Court, fearing that this last should trust them again, in which case they would certainly leave the Court and join heartily with us in opposition, but I hope this will not happen; other smaller ones, and some subdivisions of these, may probably appear at the opening of a Diet, but of what consequence they will be is impossible to foresee till the time approaches.

If we mean to form an Independent party, or to do anything considerable, we must be ready to act by September 1, and therefore I have taken the liberty to represent to our Court the necessity of instructing me speedily upon the most important points and particularly upon that of the expense. If his Majesty should think proper to concert with the Court of Petersburg on this occasion I doubt not but Your Excellency will be so good as to let me know so much of their answer as may be necessary for my guidance in my conduct here, since it is very clear that if we have no money to lay out, the thing most to be wished would be to keep off the Diet as long as we can. [*Cypher*] I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship Mr. Stachieff, who has so long resided here as the Russian minister's secretary at this Court, who is a friend of mine, a zealous Englishman, and is perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Sweden. He can tell your Lordship more about them than I can write, and I could wish he knew that it will be with great pleasure that I shall see him here again. Your Lordship's character of the French ambassador here is certainly a very just one, and is confirmed to me by the opinion of some in this country that know him well. At present he gives great assurances to the King and the Queen of Sweden of supporting their pretensions in the new Diet, which would be dangerous assurances if their Majesties entirely relied upon them, which I am informed they do not; but this circumstance seems to me to render it more necessary to have money to balance these offers. [*End of Cypher.*]

Count Fersen,' who endeavoured in 1791 to save Louis XVI. and his Queen. These men, the most influential in Sweden, were disposed to treat with the Queen from dread of the Court becoming influenced by Russia. Their aim was to amalgamate the French and Court parties, and to effect this they agreed to pay some of the Queen's debts, to destroy an Act of the former Diet which was very offensive to the King and Queen, to strengthen the influence of the Court by the admission of some of their supporters to the great offices, and in the approaching Diet to consent to a new interpretation of those passages in the fundamental laws which had been wrested to the prejudice of the royal authority. See Goodricke to Earl of Sandwich, May 22, 1764, *R.O. Sweden*, vol. cxxviii.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: June 12 (N.S.), 1764.

Notwithstanding every remonstrance the Empress seems determined upon her journey to Riga. The day is not yet absolutely fixed, but she proposes to set out soon and not to be absent more than three weeks. Bestucheff is rather better, and underhand influences the conduct of the Empress, who, though she will not in the least attend to anything which comes immediately from that gentleman, suffers herself every day to be more biassed by Count Orlow, who is in great measure directed by him. The Austrian, French, Spanish, and Saxon ministers are very active; they wish to create confusion here at any rate, but their apparent object is to ruin M. Panin with the Czarina, in which case her new ministers will soon force her into the same system which prevailed at the end of the reign of the Empress Elizabeth.[1] The officer who lately returned from China brought a letter to this Court which was conceived in the most offensive terms, but it does not seem to give the Ministry any uneasiness. The Danish minister speaks of his Treaty as being in great forwardness.

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Hague: June 15, 1764.

. . . There is nothing stirring here except an almost certainty of the Court of Vienna's being admitted into the Bourbon Family Compact, at the pressing instance of the Court of Spain, but against the will of that of France. This is a singular phenomenon which will give rise to many new scenes, and cut out much work for us and our successors in all the Courts of Europe. I find that Mr. Macartney is intended to be sent to Russia whenever your Excellency thinks fit to leave it, which I hope will not be before you have perfected the work you have been labouring at, and which it will be highly honourable in you to compleat before you quit the business. The violent part taken by Austria must of course unite other Powers, and if your Excellency can before you leave us contribute to cement such a friendship as may either make the peace

[1] *I.e.* a close alliance with France. See vol. i. p. 32.

durable or render war less tremendous you will return to your Penates with more satisfaction than with leaving the work unfinished; seventeen years' apprenticeship has made me know that everything does not succeed according to our wishes, but perseverance in a true national system must carry its point at last.

The Court of France seems to despair of playing a first part in Poland, and will therefore, I believe, let others direct it. Austria has tried with money to move the Tartar Khan, but in vain; so that after a few interior struggles I suppose the whole will go as Russia and Prussia direct.

Sir John Goodricke to the Same.

Stockholm: June 16, 1764.

. . . I have opened my letter again to let your Excellency know that I have within these few days received many confirmations that the French seriously intend the Diet in the month of January, and I have some reason to think they are convinced that this country cannot be of use to them as an ally till the affairs of the interior are redressed. The question will be now who shall have the redressing of them, for upon that depends their future system in foreign affairs. Those who prove to have the majority in the secret committee of the next Diet will, in my poor opinion, have the direction of this country in their hands for some years to come. Your Excellency can judge much better than I can pretend to do how far we are interested to desire a share in that direction; I have laid the present situation before his Majesty and his ministers, and expect from them the decision of that point with some impatience, being persuaded that if we are to do anything at all, the sooner we begin the better, for the others are at work underhand.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Separate and most secret.*] **Petersburg: June 18 (N.S.), 1764.**

From the tenor of my late dispatches your Lordship will be prepared to hear that we are not without fear that during the Empress's absence something disagreeable may happen at Petersburg. It may even be suspected that M. Panin's enemies will take this opportunity of secretly exciting some inconsiderable tumult, which, though immediately quelled, her Imperial Majesty might

be induced to believe he had encouraged. She has given up the point, though I believe with some reluctance, of the Great Duke's accompanying her.

I speak my real sentiments, not lightly conceived or idly founded, when I assure your Lordship that this Princess would greatly distinguish herself, and by promoting the honour, happiness and advantage of her subjects, in time secure their affection and confidence, were it not for that fatal, that most unfortunate inclination which occasionally leads her into dissipation and trivial amusements, injudiciously determines some of her actions, and enables her particular enemies and the many whose envy detests her favourite to give a false shade to measures innocent, if not meritorious, in their effect.

Count Solms seems seriously concerned at the present improbability of the conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance, in which I am persuaded he agrees with the sentiments of his Court, as his Prussian Majesty seldom employs a minister who presumes to form any opinion but that which is suggested by his instructions.[1]

I most sincerely hope that M. Panin will baffle the efforts of his enemies, as I consider him as the only person of any real consequence who is truly disposed to cement the connections of England and Russia.

Two Poles of some distinction, who are deputed by the Protestants in that country to solicit the protection of the Empress, have been with me to express their hopes that England will at the proper time use her influence to support their privileges. I have had a conversation with M. Panin upon this subject, who desired his Majesty might be acquainted that the Empress wished to concert the necessary measures with him against the meeting of the Diet of Pacification to preserve the rights of the Poles of the Greek and Reformed religions, but added that in the present critical situation he hoped any agreement relative to such a measure would be kept secret.

[1] Yet Frederic had definitely declared against the policy of a northern league which should include England. He had 'every reason to believe that England would not accede to such a league.' He had 'not a word to say against Sweden and Denmark,' but Sweden would not accede without a subsidy, and for himself 'his alliance with Russia took the place of every other.' See *Polit. Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten*, xxiii., dispatches to Solms of April 5 and May 14, 1764.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: June 18 (N.S.), 1764.

As to the army, it is unnecessary to mention that, unless for the purpose of wasting an enemy's country, little advantage can be derived from the irregulars. The artillery is the finest body of men I ever saw. The infantry field regiments are good and in general compleat. The guards are for obvious reasons greatly below their establishment. The cavalry is very ill-mounted and appointed, their horse guards greatly inferior to his Majesty's worst regiment of dragoons. Everything is thrown in to swell the list, yet I chuse to send it as I received it, just observing that the artillery guards and field regiments constitute the effectual force of the Empire.[1] The climate and situations of this country and the disposition of the inhabitants will ever prevent their navy from being formidable. A fleet of twenty-one ships and frigates is now, however, preparing to sail upon a cruise which they make shift to man, as upon these occasions everything here is called a sailor, but I am positively assured that Russia could not upon the whole muster fifteen hundred of such as would be esteemed in England or Holland able seamen.[2]

The estimate of the revenue was obliged to be procured, with great risque to those who gave it, from more than twenty different offices, where the interest of those who direct and the fear of a scrutiny induce them to create as much confusion as possible. It is neither so clear or so correct as I could wish, but I have reason to believe is the best that ever has been obtained.[3] Any want of perspicuity that appears will, I hope, be excused when it is considered that the articles are obtained by stealth, that most of the persons in the several offices understand nothing but Russ, and that it is impossible for a stranger to explain that which is not accurately understood by those whom it most immediately concerns. New regulations are forming every day, and I hope to make this the base of a better digested account. I have been long promised an exact account of the produce and actual state of the

[1] In all regular and irregular troops amounted to 568,234 effective men.

[2] The fleet was estimated at 24 ships, 8 frigates, 3 prames, 2 bomb ketches, 4 packet boats.

[3] The revenue is given as 16,565,875 R. 62¾ kopeks.

silver mines; the person who was to have procured it is dead, but I expect one through another channel every day. As the number of the subjects of the Crown is of late years greatly increased a new computation has been made, which will augment the revenue very considerably. I have now before me a calculation of the subjects of Russia which makes them amount to eighteen millions.

As soon as this Court received information that Branitzki was retiring with his troops towards Kaminieck measures were immediately taken to prevent his seizing that important fortress. There was one corps of 9,000 men upon the borders which was in readiness to march at four-and-twenty hours' notice.

Since this was wrote I have had a conversation with M. Panin, when I took occasion . . . to remonstrate with him as to my friend with regard to the little credit which fell to my share from having, upon the assurances given me so often, deceived my Court with the expectations of an immediate conclusion, which, though in effect no fault of mine, might still bring reflections upon me, and entering into some explanation of my own private situation entreated him to let me know what I might really depend upon. He solemnly protested that the Treaty of Commerce should be settled in a few weeks, and that he hoped that the other would be adjusted. I told him he was sufficiently acquainted with the disposition of my Court, and that it depended upon the Empress.

The Same to Lady Suffolk.

Petersburg: June 18, 1764.

. . . The Empress is preparing to leave Petersburg for a month; she intends to visit the conquered provinces Livonia and Esthonia, to see her fleet and a port which is making under the direction of the venerable Marshal Münnich upon the Baltic. Great is the glare of her situation, and I hope her heart is happy from self-approbation. She reigns over almost a third of the known world. She gives her attention to the comfort and improvement of the numerous nations submitted to her sway. She has fixed a sovereign in Courland, and is at the moment of gratifying the ambition of a man she esteems with the Crown of Poland. She has showed mercy to many of her avowed enemies, and treats the secret machinations of others with contempt, and if she is not totally free from that passion to which the greatest minds are most

exposed, she enjoys the superior pleasure of raising to the highest honours the object of it.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Saturday, June 23, 1764.

Nobody is yet named to succeed the Prussian minister at London, and his behaviour since he knew he was to be recalled exceeds all description for weakness, malice, and absurdity. I wish your Excellency joy of the Treaty of Commerce being so far advanced, and I hope your Excellency will soon have the honour of compleating it, but I was alarmed a few days ago to read in the newspapers that your Excellency was immediately to return to England.

I am extremely anxious to receive another letter from your Excellency, to know whether the Empress' journey takes place, as I think much depends upon it.

Mr. Wroughton to the Same.

Warsaw: June 24, 1764.

. . . I imagine her Imperial Majesty has no other end in her journey to Riga than to be near at hand for her favourite object of election. It was reported that Count Poniatowsky was to meet her, but I can assure you there is no such intention, however desirous both parties may be of it. Here are many people who imagine a marriage will take place when the Count is well established on the Throne, and that she will resign the Government of Russia to her son. I think that ambition is too predominant with her for such a scheme, and I regard this *pas* as the chief reason for her pushing his elevation to the degree she intends. The pains her friends take to dissuade her from the journey can proceed only from the danger they apprehend from her own subjects. Pray do you think anything of that kind to fear? [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Separate and most secret.*] Petersburg: July 3 (N.S.), 1764.

I believe that your Lordship has not hitherto observed in any of my dispatches that my vanity has paraded the footing upon

which I was received in Russia, and am concerned that you should trace something like it here, when I mention that I have lately received such marks of her Imperial Majesty's confidence as must induce me to think that her goodness to me, though it would not bias her opinion in a matter of negotiation, might determine her to accelerate a conclusion which otherwise would be deferred. Soon after her return I will use my best endeavours to obtain at least a positive answer, and, if it is not such as will fully justify my stay, shall immediately make it my most humble request to his Majesty that Mr. Macartney may set out.

Some under-officers of the Horse Guards and other persons have lately been arrested for speaking disrespectfully of her Imperial Majesty, but I have the best authority that all possible measures have been taken to prevent any disturbance during her absence, and that, satisfyed that she incurred no real danger, she was determined to show that a few idle rumours should never frighten her from her purpose. The Princess d'Ashkow has been seen in man's cloaths amongst the Guards, but her steps are narrowly looked into, and she is soon to set out for Moscow. That young lady's disappointed vanity and restless ambition seem in some sort to have affected her senses; had she been contented with a moderate share of authority she might have continued till this time the first favourite of the Empress. It has been surmised, I know not with what foundation, that the Empress is to see Poniatowski in the course of this journey, but I should think he could hardly absent himself from Warsaw at this juncture.

'*Minutes*,' *July* 1764.

Just before her Imperial Majesty set out for Riga, so many reports had reached me tending to prove the almost certainty of some disturbance happening in her absence, I could not help mentioning to the Chambellan, Cherkasow, a gentleman with whom I lived in great intimacy, that were I in his situation I should throw myself at the Empress's feet and intreat her to lay aside that journey. He immediately asked me to permit him to mention what I had said. I consented, provided he would at the same time inform her that my fears came from general rumours, not from any positive information. In consequence she desired him to appoint

me to make a visit to Count Orlow the next day, who privately introduced me to her.

What I said to her was in substance as follows: That what fell from me was the effect of a sudden emotion, arising from the real interest I took in everything that regarded her welfare. That had I known any fact of real importance I would have sought an opportunity of immediately communicating it myself. That I feared they might imagine the little information I had to give of too trivial and vague a nature, which I hoped M. Cherkasow had already mentioned. That indeed reports were brought me every day from different quarters, which, though trifling when considered separately, might together be deserving of attention. That though not extremely timid in my nature where I was myself personally concerned, yet I was very much so, where the interest and safety of those might be effected whom I sincerely respected and revered.

She answered that she was informed of the indiscreet and seditious conversations which were held, that it had been found necessary to inflict punishment, and that punishment had been inflicted. That such precautions had been taken that if two persons had formed any agreement they could not communicate with a third without almost a certainty of being discovered. That she was fully acquainted with the dispositions of ——, that she knew they were lazy and discontented in their natures, and that occasionally they could talk, but were incapable of acting with spirit. But they were easily frightened, and particularly that if they had distinguished themselves upon any occasion it proceeded rather from brutal despair than real bravery. That the late Czar's misfortune arose from his known hatred to the religion, but that it was his weakness or irresolution that sealed the event. That she was fully sensible of my attachment and grateful for the proofs I had given of it; but that she could not waive her intention lest she should be suspected of a diffidence which in effect she did not feel. She concluded with assuring me that no person whatever, not even Orlow, should know the subject of our conversation.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

The Chamberlain Cherkasow was educated at Cambridge, where, as his parts are rather slow than brilliant, by dint of great

application he obtained some knowledge of the Latin classics and history, and made such a proficiency in the English language as to enable him to read any author and carry on a conversation with ease. He is a resolute, rough man, attached by obligation to the Empress and by principle to his country. He respects England from his knowledge of it, and prefers it to every other foreign State; but he loves only Russia, and if ever employed in a ministerial light, when he thinks her interests affected, he will be inattentive to every other object. He is married to a daughter of the Duke of Courland, who is deformed in her person, but accomplished and agreeable. Soon after I came to Moscow the Empress said to him in my hearing, 'I think you never told a lie in your life.' In the course of Mirowitz's trial he made a very injudicious speech as to the method of proceeding, as if they wished not to clear up the affair sufficiently fully to vindicate the Empress. This was thought to reflect upon M. Panin and his friends, and has been very prejudical to M. Cherkasow, but the Empress and the Orlows support him.[1]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: July 3 (N.S.), 1764.

The Empress set out on Sunday for Riga. I had the honour of seeing her at the moment of her departure, and she told me she would be absent but for three weeks. She passed three days at Cronstadt; the weather was very favourable, and the fleet, which by this time must be arrived at Revel, made a magnificent appearance. During her stay there, as well as since her return, she was pleased to show me many flattering marks of distinction. The Vice-Chancellor, whose father is lately dead, is going for a fortnight to Moscow.

The Same to Sir John Goodricke.

Petersburg: July 3, 1764.

. . . [In my own private opinion, which is perhaps scarcely worth troubling you with, I see clearly the expediency of the

[1] The memoranda were written on Lord Buckinghamshire's return voyage.

Courts of London and Petersburg seizing this opportunity of changing the system in Sweden, and the more particularly as there is great reason to believe that Denmark would follow the example of your Court, and either break or take stronger engagements with France as she led the way. But I much doubt whether England would choose to incur the necessary expense, and also suspect that the terms the Czarina has been obliged to remit to Poland may prevent her from supporting her friends in Sweden to that extent which otherwise she could wish, and from this circumstance she possibly means at present, as far as the situation will admit of it, to keep up such a balance between the different partys as may prevent any decisive measures from being taken. You will consider what I mention upon this subject as merely the surmise of a man who cannot have that general information which must determine the measures of his Majesty's Ministers and those instructions which probably by this time you will have received. It may not be improper to hint to you that Prince Baratinski is very intimate with the French Minister.]

The Same to Mr. Wroughton.

July 3 1764.

[In a dispatch which I yesterday received from Lord Sandwich he mentions Count Keyserling's having assured you that he would strongly represent to his Court the expediency and even the necessity of concluding immediately the Treaty of Alliance with England; it is, I am sure, unnecessary for me to recommend to you the encouraging him as much as possible in that idea, but it would be a satisfaction to me to know what steps he has already taken, and any he may hereafter mean to take, towards the promoting an object so particularly desirable at this conjuncture.] Countess Oginski was presented to the Empress the morning before she left Petersburg.

M. Panin to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Sarscozello: le 29 juin 1764.

Monsieur,—

Je suis bien sensible à l'honneur de la lettre dont votre excellence a bien voulu accompagner le paquet de Varsovie. Je ne saurais douter, monsieur, que vous ne soyez en même tems

informé directement de l'importante nouvelle que toutes les trouppes ont abandoné le G. G. Branitzky, et vienent de se soumettre aux ordres du Général Régimentaire; ainsi il ne me reste que de vous assurer que porté par des sentimens à voir bientôt établi un sistême[1] d'amitié et d'intérêt réciproque entre nos deux patries, je travaille, monsieur, avec toute aplication possible, pour terminer au plus tôt cet ouvrage, pour avoir la satisfaction de le faire avec vous.

The Same to the Same.

Sarsko-Selo (30 de Juin) (*sic*) du 11 de Jul: 1764.

Monsieur,—

Je suis convaincu de la sincérité de sentimens de V. E. pour le succès de nos affaires en Pologne. Nos lettres de toutes les cours confirment la double accession de l'Espagne et d'Autriche au traité de Paris et au Pacte de Famille. Votre Excellence se rapelera bien que j'aye toujours regardé cet union comē une suite indispensable des principes politiques que les trois puissances ont embrassées à la fin de la dernière guerre. Je sens, monsieur, dans toute son étendu l'importance de ce sistême pour toute l'Europe. Je recoñais de même la grande raison de cimenter les liaisons entre nos cours; mais aussi ma franchise naturelle et la confiance dans votre façon de penser ne me permettent point de vous dissimuler que je souhaite très fortement de voir que le Ministère de la Grande-Bretagne rende un peu plus de justice à celui d'ici, et que je voudrai bien distinguer le vrai principe d'à présent de la Cour des Russies d'avec celui qui était le motif et le fondement de notre alliance de l'année 1743; plusieurs conversations sur ce sujet, que j'ai eu avec votre Excellence, rendent ici superflues les expliquations plus longues, et je me borne à vous assurer, monsieur, pour certain que de mon côté il ne manquera ni zèle ni activité pour achever un ouvrage que j'ai toujours regardé autant utile à nos deux monarches qu'avantageux à la conservation du repos de l'Europe entière.

Sir John Goodricke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Stockholm: July 13, 1764.

. . . The more I get acquainted with the affairs of this country the more I see of the practicability of changing its system

[1] The original spelling of M. Panin's letters is preserved.

in foreign affairs, provided we do not want money to bestow on those who are willing to take it. The thing most likely to obstruct such a project is a disunion between some of the parties concerned to promote it; the French party have already endeavoured to sow divisions and jealousies between our friends and those of the Court, which would be a great prejudice to our affairs, and which I have therefore tried to put an end to with some degree of success since I came here. I should not wonder if they also attempted to make some coolness between this Court and that where you are, for I am sure the Empress of Russia's union with England and Prussia makes the friends of France in Sweden very uneasy. Ours are in some impatience to know if they may hope to be supported, and I flatter myself that it will not be long before I shall hear from your Excellency upon that subject, since my Lord Sandwich has acquainted me that he had wrote to you about our affairs.

M. Panin to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

A Sarsko-Selo, ce 13 Juillet 1764.

Monsieur,—

Sa Majesté Impériale, ma Souveraine, vient d'apprendre par son Ministre Résident à Ratisbonne, qu'au sujet de la demande faite à la diète par son Altesse le Prince Régnant d'Anhalt-Zerbst pour la dignité de feld-maréchal lieutenant de l'Empire, M^er^ le Baron de Gemmingen[1] avoit reçu de sa cour des instructions qui paroissoient plus analogues aux sentimens qui ont divisé par le passé les deux cours, qu'à ceux qui les ont réunis si heureusement.

Sa Majesté m'a chargé en conséquence d'en prévenir V. E., ne pouvant douter que vous n'en fassiés à votre Cour un rapport conforme à ses désirs, pour que les oppositions du dit Ministre, tant dans cette affaire que dans toutes celles qui pourroient être relatives aux intérêts de S. M. I. et de sa maison, soient levés sans retour.

Il pourroit y avoir, monsieur, encore en cela quelque personalité de M. le Baron de Gemmingen contre M. de Pharr, Ministre accrédité de la part de sa Majesté Impériale pour la tutelle de

[1] Ludwig Eberhard von Gemmingen was the Hanoverian representative at Ratisbon.

Holstein: mais cette pique n'étant absolument qu'une suite des impressions réciproques de ces deux Ministres qu'ils se sont fait avoir pendant la dernière guerre, il est d'autant plus nécessaire pour l'intérêt commun que V. E. voulût s'employer à rectifier cet inconvénient qui ne peut que gêner la bonne intelligence entre nos Cours dans la partie de leur mission.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: July 20 (N.S.), 1764.

It is with great concern that I inform your Lordship that at the moment when I assured you that every thing here was in a state of perfect tranquillity, the greatest confusion was upon the point of taking place.

In the night between the 15th and 16th Lieutenant Mirowitz, of the regiment of Smolensko, who was upon guard in the citadel of Schlüsselburg, where Prince Ivan was confined, having first seduced the soldiers under his command, went to the commandant and insisted upon his immediately releasing the Prince, which the commandant declining, he caused him to be bound. He next obliged the keeper of the magazine to deliver powder to his soldiers. The noise which these proceedings occasioned alarmed a captain and lieutenant, one of which was in the Prince's bed-chamber, the other in the ante-room. The lieutenant having afresh encouraged his men advanced to the Prince's apartment, and demanded with the most violent threats in case of refusal that his Emperor (as he called him) should be produced. After some resistance the captain and lieutenant, finding themselves in danger of being overpowered, told Mirowitz that if he persisted it would endanger the Prince's life, as their instructions were in case they found their efforts to guard him ineffectual, immediately to put him to death. Mirowitz, deaf to all remonstrances, forced the door, which put them under the most unhappy necessity of executing their orders. The first stab waked the unfortunate youth, who was asleep in bed. He made so stout a resistance as to break one of their swords, and received eight wounds before he expired. The officer then produced the body to the lieutenant and his soldiers, and told them they might now do with their Emperor what they thought proper. Mirowitz carryed the corpse to the front of the guard and covered it with the colours, and then with all his

soldiers prostrated himself before it and kissed the hand. He next, taking off his own gorget, sash, and sword, laid them by the body and addressed himself to Korsakow, colonel of the regiment of Smolensko, who was then arrived, and pointing to the body told him, 'There is your Emperor; you may do by me as you please. Adverse fortune has blasted my design; I mourn not my own fate but the misery of my poor fellow soldiers, the innocent victims of my undertaking.' He then embraced the under-officers and surrendered himself and his soldiers. The body, it is said, has been carryed to a Russian church.

This is the best account I can collect at a time when it is dangerous for any body to speak. I have reason to believe that much more will come out hereafter. Printed declarations have been seized which justify this intended revolution as the natural consequence of the Empress having abandoned her dominions with an intention to marry one of her subjects.

I was with M. Panin on Wednesday and entered into the subject of the affairs of Sweden, but his thoughts were naturally engrossed by more urgent objects. He was rather diffuse in his conversation, but the whole that I could collect amounted to little more than that the immediate wish of Russia was, that England should enter into a Treaty with Sweden of the same tendency with that which now exists between the Courts of Petersburg and Stockholm; other points he desired to consider of, and mentioned to me in confidence Mr. Löwenhielm as the person he wished should take the lead in the party supported by England and Russia. I mention this rather to prove that I have not neglected his Majesty's instructions than as conclusive, for obvious reasons. With regard to the objects of them I am promised a fuller answer very soon. It is unnecessary to add that great allowance must be made for the times. The Empress is expected to-morrow or next day.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

Mirowitz was born in the Ukraine, and descended from the Hetman Mazeppa, who assisted Charles XII. in that invasion of Russia which ended in the battle of Pultowa and his ruin. He was known by many in Petersburg as a gamester and in every respect a most profligate young man. Struck with the sudden rise of the Orlows, whom he lately with reason considered but

as his equals, his ambition prompted him to try if by similar means he could not obtain as exalted a situation. He communicated his intentions to one Uchakow, a lieutenant in the same regiment, who readily entered into them, and they received the Sacrament together in the Kanski Church at Petersburg, in order to confirm more strongly their mutual vows of fidelity. Some little time after Ushakow was sent into Poland with money to pay the Russian troops then in that country, and in attempting to ford a river was drowned.

Upon July 16 N.S. Mirowitz was to relieve the guard of forty men in the fortress of Schlüsselburg. He supped with the commandant and excited him to drink more than usual. About 1 o'clock he paraded his men and produced a paper which he said was an order from the Empress, who was gone to Riga with an intention to abdicate the crown, to bring Prince Ivan to Petersburg, there to take possession of the Empire. It does not appear that any great credit was given to this assertion, but by other arguments and the assistance of some of the under-officers whom he had made privy to his design the soldiers were determined to assist him. . . .

[1] With this assurance he went to the commandant and demanded that the Prince should be set free, threatening to kill him if he refused. Upon the commandant representing that his desire was both unjust and impossible, as he had already a sovereign, the lieutenant caused him to be bound.

Having thus assured himself of the commandant, he proceeded to demand powder from the officer who had the direction of the magazine of the citadel, and ordered the soldiers to load their cannon and guns.

These preparations caused the captain and lieutenant of the Prince's guard some alarm, and they began to suspect a design against the Prince.

Having once more encouraged the soldiers and flattered them with the hope of future happiness, and obtained their full confidence in his conduct, Mirowitz began by demanding of the captain and lieutenant of the guard that the Prince should be set free.

He advanced to the door of the prison and demanded that the

[1] What follows is from notes entitled 'Relation de l'Affaire de M. de Mirowitz à Schlüsselburg de la Nuit du 16 de Juillet 1764.'

Emperor (as he called him) should be set at liberty, accompanying the demand with violent menaces of cruel treatment if they refused. After much resistance the captain and lieutenant found themselves outnumbered, and they ended by representing to Mirowitz that if he continued to use force the Prince's life would be in danger, and that on this account he should abstain, as their instructions were that if there were no means of saving the Prince alive they were to put him to death. Mirovitz, deaf to all remonstrances, forced the doors and thus obliged the officers by these violent proceedings to execute their instructions at the expense of the Prince's life.

His violent resistance obliged them to give him seven wounds. He survived the first, but finally succumbed to the others.

After his death the body was carried outside and exposed to the view of the lieutenant and his soldiers, with the words that now they might do with their Emperor what they wished. Mirowitz did not fail to carry out his design and to recognise in the dead body the person of his deceased Emperor. He caused it to be carried before the front of the guard room of the citadel, unfurled his flag and covered it with it. He prostrated himself as well as all the soldiers before the corpse and kissed its hand.

Seeing then that death had caused his evil designs to fail, he took off his military trappings—the scarf, gorget, and sword—put them close to the body, and gave himself up into the hands of the colonel of the regiment, Korsacow, who was called in by the commandant. Mirowitz showed him the corpse, saying, 'There is your Emperor. Fortune has failed to favour me. I do not pity myself, but these poor soldiers, who will suffer innocently for their zeal. For myself I give myself up to my fate, and you can do with me what you wish.'

The soldiers surrendered, and Mirowitz having kissed his inferior officers surrendered also to the said colonel.[1]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: July 24 (N.S.), 1764.

I have nothing material to add to the account given in my last. . . . This melancholy affair was kept secret much longer than could have been expected, for though it happened on Sunday

[1] For Ivan's claim to the throne, see vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

night none of the foreign ministers except myself heard of it till Wednesday. On Tuesday evening after post I received a note to inform me that something very disagreeable had happened on the side of Schlüsselburg, which had occasioned the Senate to be assembled, but I could not hear any particulars till early next day. An officer of the cadets, and two of the cadets, said to be relations of Mirowitz, have been taken into custody. I am assured that Mirowitz is a distant relation of the Hetman's, and there is a report, I hope without foundation, of his having been privy to this rash, ill-concerted attempt. It is suspected that the Austrian emissaries have been not a little busy upon this occasion. Nobody knows exactly when the Empress returns. I had yesterday a letter from a friend of mine who is with her, which mentions that she would not be at Riga till the evening of the 19th; consequently, unless she puts herself into an alarming and unnecessary hurry upon receiving the news from hence, she cannot be expected till the end of the week.

I shall not fail to avail myself to the utmost of the information contained in your Lordship's dispatch of June 26. I have no doubt but that the proposition with regard to Turkey would be waived, but the demand of subsidy will not, I fear, be so easily got over, a pretension from which it has been hinted to me M. Panin has in vain attempted to persuade the Empress to desist. I will, however, suspend my judgement till I see the new plan of a Treaty of Alliance which has been promised me, and hope M. Gross's account of his conversation with your Lordship may have some effect. The present situation of the interior of this country must unavoidably delay foreign business. This would certainly throw me into a winter's journey, and, as the two treaties in agitation and the affairs of Sweden will probably give me some business to transact which I will study to go through to his Majesty's satisfaction, I hope he will permit me to remain here till the spring, that a further chance may be given me of accomplishing the objects committed to my care, least I should return with the mortifying appearance of not having merited that confidence which my sovereign was graciously pleased to place in me. M. Panin is still at Sarskoe Selo with the Great Duke.

I have received information that several persons, some of them women, were arrested in the night. Patrols are constantly going in the night, but I see no particular reason to fear any farther dis-

turbance. There are so many contradictory reports that it is difficult to know where to give credit.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Countess of Suffolk.

Petersburg: July 24, 1764.

Dear Madam,—

I have been this last week at different places in the country, and particularly at Marshal Rosamowski's, about forty miles from hence. You will probably have heard of him as long deservedly the favourite of the Empress Elizabeth. His merit vied with her affection, and it would be difficult to decide whether she was the most bounteous or he the most deserving. Though in her reign his influence had no bounds but those which his natural decency and moderation prescribed to it, yet he bore his faculties so mildly, such was the gentleness of his manners and the amiable benevolence of his disposition that the crowd of friends, the general respect and deference which follows, or at least seem to follow, authority, attend his steps in these other times when authority is no more.

I found him in the midst of twenty young people, who made it their employment, as it was their pleasure, to prevent his wishes, which he repaid by an increasing attention to render their situation agreeable. His reception of me was most flattering; his words I could not understand, but the gestures which accompanyed them assured me of a most cordial welcome. My ignorance of the Russian language was never so irksome to me as upon this occasion, but there was no remedy. I past the day as pleasantly as any I ever knew, and returned the next morning most reluctantly to my secretarys, my desk, and my duty. The Empress' particular goodness had almost tempted me, at her departure for Riga to desire leave to attend her, but that abominable bashfulness which has so often essentially hurt me kept me silent. However, in a letter which I wrote to one of the chambellans who is with her I mentioned my envy of his situation. He showed her the letter, though wrote in my flippant vein, and she directed him to send me such an answer as makes me more out of humour with my bashfulness than ever I was before.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: July 25, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] In relation to the question about M. Keyserling, this gentleman tells me he has wrote a private letter to the Empress of Russia, recommending her to conclude the Treaty with us without the clause relative to Poland, as she wanted to have it inserted. I asked him ten days ago if he had received an answer to it. He said 'No,' but that he had reason to think the Treaty was in a good way, and that he hoped to hear farther in a very short time. It is at present so difficult to see him, and particularly to speak with him in private, that I can give your Lordship no farther *éclaircissement* upon this subject; but he seems to be as zealous for the conclusion of this alliance as you or I can be, and you may depend that I shall omit no opportunity of speaking to him upon it, and informing you of everything than can be of use to you. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to Sir John Goodricke.

July 31, 1764.

. . . . [In pursuance of his Majesty's instructions I have desired this Ministry to give me a full explication of their views in Sweden and the measures which they judged most expedient for the carrying them into execution, that the two Courts might form a proper plan to pursue in concert, and send in consequence the necessary directions to their respective Ministers at Stockholm. But when you consider the Empress's absence and other circumstances of the times, you will not be surprized that the answers I have hitherto received have been neither clear nor conclusive. I had a long conversation yesterday with M. Stachieff. The points he seems to think most necessary to secure the success of any objects which our Courts may wish to carry into execution are to obtain a majority of the bench men, which, he says, will occasion a considerable expence, to insist that our party shall take no steps without our concurrence, to press an inquiry into the late management of the publick money, and to revoke the Acts of the Diet of 1756 against the King. He is of opinion that the Queen should be kept in temper, but that she has too much ambition, that she is too credulous of the insinuations of those who

flatter her, and has too little steadiness to be suffered to take the lead or to be trusted with any secret of importance, and that in general none of the Swedes should be acquainted with our intentions further than is immediately necessary for carrying them into execution. It may, perhaps, be as well not to mention to Count Ostermann that M. Stachieff has so fully explained his sentiments to me, as at present I cannot judge whether they exactly coincide with those of the Empress and her Ministers.]

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: July 31 (N.S.), 1764.

The Empress, though hourly expected, is not as yet returned. I came yesterday morning from Count Rosamowsky's, about forty miles from hence. Her Imperial Majesty had promised to honour him with a visit upon her return from Riga, and it was imagined she would arrive there in the evening; but at the time of my departure no intelligence was received of her approach, though the Hetman who accompanys her would naturally send a courier before to prepare his brother to receive her. I cannot but suspect that the Empress prolongs her absence in order to show that she is not under the least uneasiness for the consequences of the late event. Yesterday all the foreign ministers were with the Vice-Chancellor; he did not mention to any of us one word relative to that melancholy affair, so that we remain at present in a state of uncertainty whether it is intended to make a ministerial communication of it or not. Upon more particular inquiry I find that Mirowitz is not related to the present Hetman, but descended from Mazeppa, who assisted Charles XII. when he invaded Russia. There are many reports concerning the Princess D'Ashkow; she certainly is very much suspected. Some persons are taken into custody every day, chiefly officers of the regiment of Smolensko. The dead body is at Petersburg; it is said it will be exposed to view, and a printed manifesto published explaining the whole transaction at the Empress's return. I have tryed but cannot discover as yet that any such manifesto is printing here.

The Same to the Same.

[*Separate and most secret.*] Petersburg: July 31 (N.S.), 1764.

No answer has as yet been given me with regard to the affairs of Sweden; every thing waits the Empress's return. I have had a very long conversation with M. Stachieff, who was long *chargé d'affaires* from this Court at Stockholm. He has been latterly at Copenhagen, but is now upon his return to Sweden. This gentleman is very well known to Sir John Goodricke, who has probably mentioned him in his correspondence. He is an avowed enemy to France, and was consequently disgraced during the late war at the instigation of M. d'Havrincourt.[1] . . . He tells me that the extraordinary Diet cannot certainly enter into business till after the carnival, but has promised to press M. Panin to give me an immediate answer. What M. Stachieff mentions upon this subject is by no means conclusive with regard to the determinations of this Court; but it seems to me not improper to mention it to your Lordship, when coming from a man who has passed nineteen years in Sweden, who is supposed to be perfectly acquainted with the interior of that country, and whose judgment and integrity are unimpeached.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: August 3 (N.S.), 1764.

It is difficult to conceive the uncertainty under which all ranks of people have remained for this last fortnight with regard to the time of the Empress' return. I yesterday, however, saw a letter wrote the evening before by one of the Chamberlans, which mentions that she was just come to Count Rosamowsky's, from whence she proposed going to Peterhoff, and that she would probably be here to-morrow, at which time M. Panin also says he expects her. The Great Duke came to Petersburg the night before last. I was yesterday for near an hour with M. Panin, who very candidly attributed his delay of business with me to that unavoidable anxiety and confusion which the late disturbance had occasioned, and entered into some of the particulars, none of which essentially vary from the accounts

[1] Here Lord Buckinghamshire recapitulates what he had written to Sir John Goodricke of the same date. See p. 209.

which I have already transmitted to your Lordship, entreating me not to take notice that he had spoke to me upon the subject, as he had not as yet received the Empress's instructions to enter into any explanation with the foreign Ministers relative to it. He told me also in confidence that he had at different times seen the Prince, particularly that once he had been shut up with him for three hours, and assured me that he found his understanding absolutely confused, and his ideas blended together without the least rational distinction. This agrees with the general account of him, but it differs widely from a relation which has been given me of the circumstances which passed when the late Emperor saw him; that Prince, perhaps indeed not the most competent judge, remarked that his conversation was not only rational, but animated. I must, however, rather give credit to M. Panin's assertions, as I am too well acquainted with his veracity to think he would willfully mislead me upon any occasion, much less with regard to a fact which can now no longer be of consequence. He laboured to persuade me that no persons of any distinction were concerned in Mirowitz's ill-concerted scheme, and, indeed, hitherto I have not been able to trace that any one has been discovered. I must rather think her Imperial Majesty's situation strengthened than shaken by what has lately happened, and that there is no immediate reason to fear any revolution, though from that characteristical national credulity of every imposter and of every idle report, which the history of this country so strongly exemplifies, and the constant dissatisfaction with the present and the hourly wish to change which it is impossible to frequent the Russians and not discover, events of that nature will ever be less surprizing here than in other kingdoms where the individuals are less oppressed, more informed, and more employed. M. Panin assured me he would enter into business as soon as possible, and flattered himself that my Court would make some allowance for the present circumstances. I cannot conclude without remarking to your Lordship that though till the Ministers explain themselves farther I can form no certain conclusion, yet there is rather an appearance that this Court is no longer equally solicitous upon the affairs of Sweden; whether this proceeds from their having expended too much money in Poland to be able to spare at this time a sufficient sum to answer the demands to which they would expose themselves, in attempting to push any capital point in

Sweden, or from reasons of a different nature, I shall try to discover.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: August 3 (N.S.), 1764.

Your Lordship may probably have heard before this reaches you that the artifices of the French and Austrians have so far succeeded at Constantinople as to change the dispositions of the Porte with regard to the intended candidate for Poland, and that particularly an insinuation that Poniatowski was to marry the Czarina, and consequently that the dominions of Poland and Russia would in great measure be united, has so far exasperated them that they have signified that they should consider his being elected King of Poland as a declaration of war from Russia. The Ministry here have taken every method in their power to obviate and remove the bad impressions which this idea might occasion. Letters have been wrote to Poniatowski and to his family to prove that the present emergency makes it absolutely incumbent upon him immediately to contract a marriage with a lady who, unconnected with any foreign Power, may give no foundation to the surmises which his enemies may wish to propagate; a courier has also been despatched to the King of Prussia, requesting him to employ the whole of his influence to inforce this measure, and bills of exchange to a considerable amount have been sent to Constantinople, a kind of application which seldom fails of its effect there. These resolutions were taken with that spirit and celerity which the necessity of the circumstance required. I believe the Empress is herself, at this time, scarcely acquainted with the whole of the particulars; whenever she is, I think her Ministers may be sure of her approbation. This intelligence comes from a quarter which I am persuaded may be depended upon.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: August 7 (N.S.), 1764.

Her Imperial Majesty arrived at Petersburg on Sunday evening in perfect health, but a little fatigued with her journey.

I was yesterday with the Vice-Chancellor, who took no notice to me of the late event, so that I must suppose that either they have not as yet determined what to say, or intend to be abso-

lutely silent upon the subject. I staid with him a considerable time, but he did not seem in the least prepared to talk to me upon business.

Sir John Goodricke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Stockholm: August 7, 1764.

I flatter myself that whenever the express arrives I shall hear from your Excellency again, since whatever I can do here will be much influenced by what passes in Russia; and I can tell your Excellency, from very good authority, that it has been lately urged in the councils of France as a reason for not paying this Crown's demands that it was to be feared, pay what they would, that Sweden would be obliged to follow the byas of Russia, which at present was not favourable to France. It was reply'd to this, that it became then more necessary for France to try by force of money to unite Sweden and Denmark against Russia.

We have nothing particular stirring here at present, except that the King's intended journey to Scania has been put off, on account of the mortality which reigns among the cattle and horses in the provinces through which he was to pass, occasioned, as is supposed, by the great drought and want of wholesome water. . . .

I take the opportunity of Major Dicker's return to send this letter, believing it will come quicker than any other way, for if any accident should stop him at Revel, he has promised me to put it in the post there. He has received a present of a handsome gold snuff-box for his care of the horses which he brought hither from the Empress to the Queen of Sweden.

Mr. Wroughton to the Same.

Warsaw: August 8, 1764.

Yesterday the Russian and Prussian Ambassadors, in presence of several senators and persons of the first distinction ministerially, declared to the Primate the recommendations of their respective Sovereigns in favour of the Count Stanislas Poniatowski, Stolnick of Lithuania, whom they proposed to the nation as candidate for the vacant throne. The interest these two Powers take, as

allies and neighbours, in the tranquillity and a solid establishment of the laws and libertys of the Republic, the superior talents and well-known patriotic qualities of this young gentleman, were the reasons they alledged for their so warmly interesting themselves in his favour.

[*Cypher.*] In answer to your dispatch of June 20 I am very much obliged to you for the important information you give me. I cannot conceive that a simple lieutenant would undertake such a project without being seconded by some people of consequence and having some plan formed. I suspect the French and Austrian Ministers to have some knowledge of it, for they have long threatened us with something that was to happen surprizing, and their parties have flattered themselves with a revolution in Russia.[1] I think your Lordship may make use of this hint, which you may depend on to be true, to the prejudice of our natural enemies and in favour of his Majesty's interest. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: August 10 (N.S.), 1764.

I think it necessary to inform your Lordship that, in the dispatch in which M. Gross gives an account to this Court of his conversation with you relative to the terms of the Treaty of Alliance, he insinuates that, notwithstanding England at this time refuses giving any subsidy, yet he flatters himself that at last it will be consented to. My information may be depended upon, but I hope that it will not upon any account be hinted to M. Gross. Your Lordship must be sensible of the effect which such an expectation will have upon the Empress, already, as I am too well assured, determined to insist upon that point. No business has been entered into since the return of the Court. The Danish Minister has not yet received the counter project to his proposed Treaty, though I have reason to believe it has been ready these two months. There is no alteration from the old Treaty, except that this Court intends to offer a secret article, by which the King

[1] If this was not also Frederic II.'s real opinion, it was at least the opinion which he expressed, that the French, Austrians, Saxons, and Poles opposed to the Russian influence in Poland had had a hand in this event. (See *Polit. Corr.* vol. xxiii. p. 457.)

of Denmark is to engage to decline all engagements with the French relative to the affairs of Sweden.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Berlin: Tuesday, August 14, 1764.

His Prussian Majesty about a fortnight ago named M. Badouin, Secretary of Legation, to relieve M. Michel at London, and accordingly he set out soon after from this place, but I have yet no notice of his being arrived there.

The King has been pleased to permit me to go to Spa to drink the waters for the recovery of my health, and from thence to pass into England. During my absence Mr. Burnet, my secretary, remains here to carry on the correspondence, and he will carefully and punctually obey any orders he may receive from your Excellency. [*Cypher.*] To this moment neither the King of Prussia nor any of his Ministers have hinted to me the least thing concerning the King our master's joining in the alliance with Russia. I therefore imagine that what the Prussian Minister at Petersburg has said to you was meant only to discover whether you had any instructions upon that subject. The behaviour of his Prussian Majesty in the whole affair of the recall of M. Michel, and in sending a person to succeed him who is invested with no character, as it is disrespectfull, cannot fail to be disagreable.

Sir John Goodricke to the Same.

Stockholm: August 14, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] I am very glad your Lordship has had the conversation you are pleased to give me an account of,[1] for that gentleman knows more of the Swedish affairs than most of the Swedes themselves. His remarks are very right about the conduct to be observed, only as to the inquiry of the management of the publick money too much latitude cannot be given to the Russian Minister here, either to relax or to press that point, because some of the persons concerned in cheating the Government (but this is a great secret, which your Lordship will use for yourself only) have lent sums to the Court, hoping to save themselves this way; and as we do not yet know what necessity we may have for their service, it will be good that our hands should be at liberty in that respect.

[1] See p. 209.

What he said to your Excellency about the Queen's private character is very true, but it must be observed that it is highly important for us to keep the Court party from being tempted to join with our enemies, and therefore some support must be promised them, if not before September 1, or there will be danger of losing them. His preaching of not trusting to the Swedes with secrets of what we intend to do is quite necessary; there is only one of them that I confide in, and I could wish your Lordship would be so good as to sound Stachieff's opinion upon his subject without letting him know the reason. The person I mean is Colonel Rudbeck, whom our friend proposed to make Marshal of the Diet, and who is at present the most popular man in this country. I will not mention a word to Count Ostermann of what your Lordship has wrote me, except that you have not been yet able to have a decisive answer, though you are as sensible as we that the time presses. [*End of Cypher.*]

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Same.

Hague: August 14, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] My blood still runs cold at the tragical fate of the ill-starred Prince Ivan, and I fancy I am reading history three hundred years ago. M. Panin had sent a circular letter on July 24, which arrived the same day as your Lordship's of July 20, and mentioned the prisoner as an unknown person out of his senses, representing the attempt as a rash action of enthusiasm, and saying the Empress of Russia had named a General officer to examine into it—not one word of the mortal wounds. This story will adorn the stage in future ages, but it makes one blush for this. I am sorry for the House of Brunswick, but where are the rest of that family? or are they hid too? All reflexion is idle and only importuning you. [*In cypher*] I shall not be surprized if the impression this story will occasion should clogg for a time the zeal of negotiating with the Court your Lordship is at, because men are men, and feel as such. For the present all I can tell your Lordship from the south is, that by the best advices the negotiation for a long time of admitting Spain into the Alliance with France and Austria, or the last into the Family Compact, is broke off for the present; either because Spain did not like it, though the Court of Vienna has great influence at Madrid, or because Spain is in too

low a situation to venture to awake our jealousy; their fleet, army, and finances are equally in disorder and resources small. If any of our good friends, the French, push them, however, to get ready, and as they have once persuaded them they could do something, though to their cost, they may be ensnared a second time. My Lord Rochford assures me that the logwood affair is adjusted to his satisfaction, and with great good faith on the part of Spain. As to France, they act as they have always done, distressing those who have acted generously by them in the Peace, and chicaning upon every thing with a tone of superiority which always engenders quarrels in the end, however pacifick an administration may be. The knowledge of this makes your Lordship's wishes every day more necessary to accomplish, and I here wish you good luck in attempting to settle something. Had the King of Prussia been cool enough to have sent a proper person to England as a Minister, that would have done much good, but he has sent a subaltern without a character, which has piqued, and consequently the coldness continues. It is not my fault; I did privately all I could to bring about the contrary, but in vain, and I feel that this situation retards your operations. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: August 21 (N.S.), 1764.

The Empress is perfectly recovered of her late indisposition, but M. Panin, though much better, is far from well.

I employed a person I could depend upon to sound M. Panin in relation to Count Guerchy's complaint,[1] who assures me that there is no reason to fear that this Court will authorise their Minister to take any part upon this occasion.

The late disturbance seems almost forgot, and there is now an appearance of the most perfect tranquility; yet Count Orlow's increasing favour occasions a secret discontent, which it pains me to think may have in the end very fatal consequences. At present he interferes not with foreign affairs, but with regard to the whole of the domestick his decisions are absolute. He has lately taken upon him a haughtiness of behaviour which those who remember his beginning cannot brook without an indignation, not the less violent for being smothered. At times he seems to forget that respect and deference which is due to his sovereign, and addresses

[1] See for this p. 155, n. 1.

her with the air of a man who feels and means to exert the full of his influence. As far as he pays any attention to politicks, he is supposed to be inclined to the House of Austria, which at this present juncture imports little, but may be of serious consequence in another year. Some of those who are near her Imperial Majesty have hinted to me that they believe she retains still some ideas of marrying him; if she should in that instance yield to her inclinations she inevitably seals her ruin.

The Earl of Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

[*Private.*] August 21, 1764.

It will give me real concern if the answer you will receive to your request to remain where you now are till the next spring should give you any uneasiness. If I had had the least idea that you wished to continue in your embassy I would on no account have proposed anything to his Majesty that could have hastened your return; but I do most sincerely assure you that I thought from the tenour of your correspondence that you earnestly desired to be relieved from the unpleasant situation you are in, and that it was not till I had proceeded too far in consequence of that idea that I had the least notion that you did not wish to be relieved as speedily as possible.

Your Lordship has had a fair trial about the Treaty of Alliance: I am persuaded if it could have been managed it would have succeeded in your hands; but your last dispatch absolutely confirms what I have long suspected—it is now out of the question. Russia exacts a condition which we are as determined to refuse as they to insist on, therefore it is time to shew that we will not suffer ourselves to be longer amused upon this subject.

My publick letter will mention his Majesty's sentiments to you more fully upon this head than it is proper for me to do here, but I could not let these dispatches go without using my best endeavours to convince your Lordship how concerned I shall be, if any measure executed through my channel should be in the least degree disagreable to you.

Upon your repeatedly applying for your recall it was with great difficulty that we could pitch upon a proper person to relieve you. It was fixed for Mr. Macartney[1] before your Lordship shewed the least inclination to stay; he gave up his pretensions to

[1] Afterwards successively Sir George and Lord Macartney.

a seat in Parliament upon the promise of this appointment, and expected to be dispatched some months ago. Should his appointment be now postponed till the winter is over, he would have great reason to complain, and to think that he was led on with the hopes of this commission because we wished to chuse another person into Parliament instead of him.

I really tell your Lordship the exact state of this case, and flatter myself that when you consider it again you will acquit me of having taken any part in the whole of it that was inconsistent with the attention due to your person and services.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: August 28 (N.S.), 1764.

The Vice-Chancellor, whom I have just left, assures me the Empress is as desirous to conclude the Treaty of Commerce as I can be, and that the delay arose from M. Panin, who undertook more business than he could carry through. I answered him that I had already too often amused my Court with expectation of an immediate conclusion, and that if we were not now to enter upon the Treaty I had much rather leave it to be negotiated by another Minister. I laid the whole stress upon the urgency of my own private affairs, and desired him to state what I had said in the most decent and most respectfull terms to her Imperial Majesty. In a note I have just wrote to M. Panin much to the same effect, in the postscript I remind him of the Treaty of Allyance, but in such a manner as must convince him that it is from myself, and that I have not lately received any instructions from my Court upon that head. I hope it is unnecessary to say that my whole study during my residence here has been to promote the objects committed to my care, and that I have always been ready to sacrifice my interest and convenience to his Majesty's service; and if in any instance I have consulted the former, it is in my hasty desire to continue here the winter, arising from a wish to avoid such a journey in so severe a season, as well as from the possibility of that additional time enabling me to conclude both the treaties. I am now very much concerned that I ever mentioned that request, and if the Ministers should not furnish me with such an answer as will fully justify my stay, I shall humbly entreat his Majesty that my successor may immediately set out, and prepare myself to leave this country as soon as possible after his arrival.

H. Grenville to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Constantinople: August 28, 1764.

. . . The Court of Vienna taking part in the Family Compact is not looked upon here as a certain matter of fact. How alarming soever that union may be to the libertys of Europe in general, it does not appear to engage the attention of the Porte. They indeed seldom view consequences from afar—seem to have no regular system of policy by which they conduct this unwieldy Empire. They act generally from present passion, and according to the exigencys of the present hour.

It is now looked upon here as a certainty that the election in Poland will pass quietly and with common consent. The Porte interests itself no longer there. [*Cypher.*] Not so with Russia, and animosities between that Court and this augment daily, and war, although possibly it may be delayed a little, is looked upon as unavoidable. The late Treaty of Alliance with Prussia first bred the flame and promoted it. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: August 31 (N.S.), 1764.

The Empress is so much embarrassed with demands from Poland that I believe even in the moment of success she repents her undertaking. The envoy from the General Confederation mentioned to M. Panin from Count Poniatowski, that if her Imperial Majesty contented herself with placing him upon the throne without giving him farther support and assistance, circumstanced as he was, instead of serving him she had only made him wretched. In consequence of this she has promised to send him a hundred thousand ducats immediately, and a farther sum nearly to the same amount to pay the expences of his Coronation.

The Austrian and French emissaries are very active in their efforts to remove M. Panin, and sanguine in their hopes of success, I am assured that the Austrian Minister was lately so indiscreet as to drop some expressions of such a tendency which were immediately reported to M. Panin. At this juncture I think he is so necessary to the Empress that she cannot part with him.

M. Panin showed the Empress my letter, who directed him to settle the Treaty of Commerce with me as soon as possible, and

in consequence they have been busy in revising it these two days, but the Vice-Chancellor tells me that as it must be laid before her Imperial Majesty, and they are at present fully employed in preparing for the trial of Mirowitz, who is to be judged in full Senate, it will be near a fortnight before it can be communicated to me. I could not help taking notice to the Vice-Chancellor that M. Panin had told me, soon after the Empress's departure for Riga, that their plan for the Treaty of Commerce was then finished. He did not attempt to justify him, but in general complained of his undertaking more business than he could carry through, and added that if it had depended upon him, the treaty would have been long finished.

These are the assurances which I have received, but after so many disappointments it would be imprudent in me to risque a supposition that no farther delays may arise, and therefore as it appears by your Lordship's last dispatch that it is expected I should name an early day for Mr. Macartney's departure, I believe it may be better (if such is his Majesty's pleasure) that he should set out immediately. I shall hold myself in readiness to ask for my audience of leave the moment he arrives; least, however, my request of remaining here the winter (which I do not now expect) should have been granted, it may be necessary for me to mention that I am prepared in either case most chearfully to obey his Majesty's instructions.

By my correspondence, as well as those of the Ministers who preceded me, your Lordship must be fully acquainted with the delays which all business, even of the greatest consequence, meets with here. In these last two years nothing has been done except the treaty with the King of Prussia, which, though essential to her Imperial Majesty's most favourite and most immediate objects, was put off till the last moment.

The Ministers of France, Spain, Holland, &c., have been long soliciting treaties of commerce, and the answer they have always received is that the treaty with England must be first concluded. I asked the Vice-Chancellor if his Court had as yet settled with Denmark. He told me that would not be thought of till they had done with me.

P.S.—I am assured that the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin have agreed to support by their negotiations at the future Diet in Sweden the just balance of power between the Crown and the Senate as settled in the year 1720.

Sir John Goodricke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Stockholm: September 4, 1764.

I can now inform you that the important question which came before the Senate yesterday was decided unanimously after some small argumentation, and the Extraordinary Diet was fixed for January 15. The Letters of Convocation are in the press, and will be published to-morrow morning.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: September 4 (N.S.), 1764.

By the accounts I receive from Mr. Mitchell and the circumstance of his Prussian Majesty's having appointed a person with no higher rank than that of Secretary of Legation to succeed his late Minister at London, I should naturally suppose that Prince was far from seeking to cultivate any cordial friendship with the Court of England, if the whole tenour of the conduct and language of Count Solms at Petersburg did not imply sentiments of a very different kind. On the one hand he is constantly soliciting M. Panin to conclude our Treaty of Allyance, urging the necessity of renewing it in the present situation of Europe; on the other he is continually pressing me to use every argument in my power to induce my Court to yield to her Imperial Majesty's demands. My answers to him are always that those demands are in themselves unreasonable, and that my Court is determined not to give way to them.

I know not what it was which determined the Vice-Chancellor to tell me that he expected every moment an answer from the Empress relative to the affairs of Sweden. The present state of that important deliberation, as it is communicated to me by a private hand whose authority I hold to be greatly better than that gentleman's, is as follows: His Prussian Majesty has directed his Minister to concert measures with this Government for to determine upon the conduct which it is advisable to pursue at this critical juncture in Sweden, recommending to them at the same time to invite the Court of England to act in conjunction, so that the Ministers of the three countries may be furnished with the same instructions. A plan for that purpose is at present under consideration, but M. Panin's illness and the trial of

Mirowitz, which began yesterday, and it is supposed will scarcely be concluded before Thursday, put a stop to all business.

Mr. Wroughton to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Warsaw: September 7, 1764.

Yesterday the Primate ordered the several Palatinates to approach the field of election, and made the tour in an open chaise to collect their votes for the nomination of the person they desired to be King. Count Stanislas Poniatowski received the suffrages of every one with the most unexampled unanimity, and this day at twelve o'clock he will be proclaimed and conducted to the church with the usual ceremony. As the bearer of this letter, Prince Shukoffskoy, is to depart the moment that the guns are fired, I was obliged to finish it before the proclamation was made, but I would not neglect the opportunity of giving your Lordship the earliest information of the accomplishment of this interesting and well-conducted scene.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: September 8 (N.S.), 1764.

I yesterday received your lordship's dispatch of August 14, and went in the evening to M. Panin according to a previous appointment.

We immediately entered into a conversation[1] upon the affairs of Sweden, and what I could collect from him was to the following purpose: That the proper system for England and Russia was to maintain an exact equilibrium between the King and Senate, so that neither might obtain an efficient superiority, that to this purpose the Constitution of 1720 must be established in its full force, and that the power given by a clause, of making alterations (of which the Senate availed themselves to enter into those measures in which they engaged in the year 1756), should be restrained with regard to the capital points of making war and peace and levying taxes. As to the particular persons whom we were to confide in and to advance, he said that the fluctuating state of that country, and the frequent changes which happened in the disposition of the individuals, made it impossible for to decide at a distance, and that

[1] The purport of this conversation was communicated to Sir John Goodricke on September 11. (See *Buckinghamshire Papers.*)

therefore it must be left in great measure to our Ministers residing at Stockholm. He further insinuated that if England meant hereafter to establish a system in the North, she must take upon her that subsidy which France now pays to Sweden, also that she must secure the Court of Denmark, as those two countrys from their vicinity are kept in a mutual awe, which must ever prevent them from actively engaging in opposite partys; that as it had been the policy of France to keep Denmark quiet in order to avail herself of the force of Sweden, so hereafter it might be advisable for England to make Sweden passive that Denmark might be enabled to give her effectual assistance. I told him that our finances were too much exhausted for us to enter hastily, and indeed without pressing necessity, into a system of subsidies. He expressed some doubts whether the Extraordinary Diet would take place or not.

I afterwards asked him if a report which had reached me was true, of the Vice-Chancellor's having had some time ago a conversation with Count Düben[1] upon the interior situation of Sweden. He seemed greatly surprized, assured me he knew nothing of it, and that if the Vice-Chancellor had ever taken such a step it was unknown to the Empress and to him. I told him that as such a rumour had prevailed it might be as well, just as a matter of curiosity, to inquire if there was any foundation for it. He promised to let me know in a day or two. If (as I suspect) such a conversation has never passed, in pursuance of my instructions I shall mention nothing farther upon the subject. I also took notice, as of an opinion which it was said prevailed in Sweden, that this Court intended to march a body of troops towards the frontiers of Sweden at the time the Extraordinary Diet should be held. He answered me that he knew nothing of such an idea, but that he was persuaded that the Empress would be ready to take that or any other necessary step in concert with her allys. I changed the subject as if I had scarcely attended to what he said, least he should suspect me of an intention to sound him.

It will be, I am persuaded, full as evident to your Lordship as it was to me that M. Panin's thoughts are not yet fully digested with regard to the plan for the future conduct of England and Russia in Sweden. I know he has not as yet found time to read a

[1] Count Karl Wilhelm Düben, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen of Sweden, was in May 1764 made Chancellor to the Court. See p. 229.

paper drawn up by his desire for that purpose, and which is alluded to in my last dispatch.

Great as the delay of all business is at this Court, it will appear less extraordinary when it is considered that M. Panin has the whole direction of foreign affairs (for as to the Vice-Chancellor, he rather embroils than assists him, even with regard to those trifles in which he is permitted to interfere). He also has the care of the Great Duke, superintends his education, attends him almost every where, dines with him and lodges in the same room; added to this, though a sensible and a worthy man and long used to business, he is indolent in the taking it under consideration and tedious in the agitation of it. His constitution is weak, and he has a taste for pleasure and dissipation. When your Lordship considers these circumstances, together with the attention given to the election in Poland, the late intestine disorder, the necessary precautions which he is obliged to take to baffle the efforts of his private enemies, and lastly the importance of a life upon which the future wellbeing of his country depends that is immediately and absolutely committed to his care, you will think his dilatoriness in some sort excusable and make a little allowance for a correspondence which I could wish it had depended upon me to render more satisfactory.

The conversation, though we did not descend to particulars, resembled too much those the purport of which have been already communicated to your Lordship. He will not be persuaded that we are not at the eve of a French war, and declares he should think himself culpable if he was to advise the Empress to conclude a treaty upon terms as disadvantageous to Russia as that of 1742. He urged the readiness with which the King of Prussia had agreed to make a war with Turkey a *casus fœderis*, and, though he agreed with me that England could not prudently take the same step, insisted that she ought to make some other concession.

The Same to Sir Joseph Yorke.

Petersburg: September 11 (N.S.), 1764.

. . . I am told that the Prince of Brunswick,[1] with his family, still remains in the neighbourhood of Archangel; you will naturally imagine that at this time it would not be advisable for anybody

[1] Ulric Antoine, Duke of Brunswick-Bevern, father of the murdered Ivan. 'It depended upon the old man himself, a year ago, to have left the country, if he would have gone without his children.' ('Russian Memoranda.')

to appear inquisitive upon that head. The Empress seems now much more affected at the unfortunate event of Schlüsselburg, and fearful of the disagreeable insinuations which it may give occasion to, than in the hurry of her ill-advised journey when the melancholy intelligence first reached her. Justice and humanity lead me to assure you of my firm opinion that she neither directly nor indirectly contributed to that catastrophe. I am informed that the clergy have upon this occasion represented to her Imperial Majesty the necessity of settling the succession, to prevent the confusion which might arise in case by any accident the Great Duke should be cut off, and that she was greatly displeased with this step, and enjoined them strictly not to presume to reason upon that subject. Mirowitz's trial began last week, but proceeds very slowly, before the Senate; in the course of it many things have happened which have given pain to the Empress, and particularly an inquiry which they seem determined to push, whether the officers were under such an absolute necessity of putting Prince Ivan to death. M. Panin, whose candour I have a high opinion of, assures me that during the reign of Peter the Third, who himself saw him, he was shut up for some hours with that ill-fated youth, and that he found him not only ignorant but deficient to the greatest degree in his understanding; how far that last imperfection was natural or the consequence of his education must now ever remain a doubt.[1] The conduct of the Prussian Minister here is such as if his master was the friend and wished to be the ally of England. He is continually urging me to press the conclusion of the Treaty of Allyance, and I know that he frequently expatiates to the Russian Ministry upon the expediency of such a measure. He has also by order of his Court recommended to M. Panin that agreement should immediately be entered into between England, Russia, and Prussia to act in concert at this critical juncture in Sweden. A plan has been drawn up for that purpose, but it has not as yet been under consideration. I wish the French may not avail themselves of this inactivity. Delay, indeed, seems to have fixed the seat of her empire in Russia, where her influence is to be traced from the merest trifles to those capital resolutions which decide upon the fate of nations.

P.S.—I am positively assured that the report mentioned above of the clergy having addressed the Empress is without foundation, but something of that nature may possibly hereafter come from another quarter.

[1] See vol i., p. 7.

The Same to Sir John Goodricke.

Petersburg: September 11, 1764.

. . . You will have received from Lord Sandwich an account of a conversation reported to have passed between the Vice-Chancellor and Count Düben.[1] M. Panin was greatly surprised when I hinted it to him, and assured me that he absolutely knew nothing of it; he has since made all possible perquisitions, and cannot trace the least foundation for such an idea. I asked him his opinion of Colonel Rudbeck, and he spoke of him as a man of merit and abilitys.

The Same to Lord Stormont.

Petersburg: September 11, 1764.

. . . There is certainly great secret discontent in this country, but it is now evident that the late attempt must be considered as the ill-concerted act of one rash man. I am persuaded, however, that in the present temper of the Court of Vienna everything which passes here will be painted by them in the most odious colours, of which your Lordship must undoubtedly be fully sensible. The trial of Mirowitz goes on very slowly, and the Court is not quite satisfyed with their method of proceeding; this keeps back all business, and particularly delays those determinations upon what should be the conduct of England, Russia, and Prussia at this critical juncture in Sweden (which evidently requires an immediate decision).

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: September 11 (N.S.), 1764.

It is remarked by those who are frequently with the Empress that she is greatly dispirited, and it is imagined that she now sees the unfortunate event which happened at Schlüsselburg in a much more serious light than when the news first reached her. The only blame, however, which can justly fall upon her is the not having permitted the Prince of Brunswick and all his family to retire out of this country, a measure which was under deliberation at her accession, approved and strongly recommended by the most sensible of those consulted, though rejected by a majority. That unhappy

[1] See p. 229.

Prince (by the last account I could obtain) remains still in the same place of confinement in the neighbourhood of Archangel. M. Panin told me last night that he could not discover any traces of the Vice-Chancellor's having held the language to the Swedish Minister mentioned in your Lordship's last dispatch,[1] and that if there is any foundation for such a report it must proceed from the Vice-Chancellor's having indiscreetly dropt some expressions which he has since had the prudence to conceal. Upon the whole I cannot but be of opinion (as your Lordship insinuates was suspected) this is an invention calculated to serve some purpose in Sweden, and not in the least arising from any thing that has passed here. I shall by this post acquaint Sir John Goodricke with the explanation which I have had upon that head.[2]

The Same to the Same.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: September 14 (N.S.), 1764.

The following information I have with some difficulty obtained. Some of the most sensible and leading people here, struck with the calamities of that unfortunate branch of the Brunswick family, whose ill fate led them into Russia, and willing, as far as may depend upon them, to wipe off a stain which so greatly sullys the honour of their country, have serious thoughts of making some amends to the remains of that House, and I suspect are deliberating if they should not propose to the Empress to set them at liberty and settle the succession upon the children after her death in case the Great Duke should not survive her. I am persuaded that such a proposition (should they venture to make it) will be beyond measure disagreeable to her, and that nothing but the being convinced of the danger of a refusal can possibly induce her to comply.

[1] This was to the effect that the Vice-Chancellor (deputed by the Empress) had hinted that she hoped 'that the spirit of party in Sweden would not extend their divisions to such essential points as would require the attention of a good neighbour.' This, it was reported, was concealed by the Ministers from the King and the Senate, lest they should use the dread of Russia as a means to effect their ends. On the other hand, it was contended that the whole story was a *canard* invented by the Queen and M. Düben to overawe the French party. See Sandwich's despatch, August 13, 1764, *Buckinghamshire Papers*.

[2] The substance of this was also communicated to Sir Joseph Yorke on October 2.

The intention, however, is certainly meritorious, and everybody who interests himself in the wellbeing of Russia must hope that they will have resolution enough to carry it through. The Great Duke seems every day to gain strength, but still his constitution is so delicate that the probability is certainly against his ever living to have children. He has never had the small pox; there was lately an idea of inoculating him, but it was overruled by those who had the immediate care of him. Mirowitz's trial seems likely to be drawn out to a great length. That affair seems to be very unfortunately, if not very injudiciously conducted, and, it is to be feared, will by no means tend to remove those suspicions which ill-designing persons have propagated and the ever credulous multitude believe. In the meantime all other business stands still.

The Same to the Same.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: September 18 (N.S.), 1764.

Mirowitz's trial is drawing near a conclusion. In the course of it he has behaved with decency and resolution; the latter, some of his judges imputed to a hardness of heart, and in a private examination reproached him with it. He answered that he considered himself as no longer a citizen of this world, that he was sensible he had nothing to expect but an ignominious death, which he was prepared to meet with a degree of magnanimity which he hoped would expiate for the offence he had committed. Being desired to name his accomplices, he said that he had already declared he had none, and he could not suppose it was wished that he should accuse the innocent, then (addressing himself to the General Procureur) asked him if he was desirous that he should accuse him. Upon all occasions he laments the calamity of the soldiers and under officers whom his indiscretion seduced into a momentary error. I am informed from a very private hand that the idea with regard to the Brunswick family, which some persons think of insinuating to the Empress, goes no farther than the permitting them to leave the country and allowing them a pension, rightly judging that, such a step once taken, the succession (in case the Great Duke should fail) would naturally devolve to them.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: September 25 (N.S.), 1764.

I met the commissioners for settling the Treaty of Commerce again on Saturday at M. Panin's. Several difficulties seemed to be got over, but they declared they could not agree to insert the words of the former Treaty in the fourth article, by which the Russian merchants are obliged to pay the same dutys on exports as the English, and also that they would not replace the twenty-seventh article of the old Treaty, which fixes the dutys which are to be paid on cloths and flannels.[1] I told them I hoped they would excuse my declining to receive and transmit to my Court a project which deprived my Sovereign's subjects of the most valuable of the privileges which they had so long enjoyed. The conference, however, was carryed on with great temper and politeness, and soon after I had left them I received a note to desire I would send the commissioners a paper which they had seen me make use of to assist my memory.

With regard to the English merchants at Riga,[2] they assure me the Empress cannot possibly allow them by the Treaty the same privileges as are granted to those at Petersburg, Moscow, &c., as she must not invade the rights of the burghers. It does not seem to me that the Russians are solicitous to encourage the trade of the conquered provinces.

By the new project the houses the English buy or build at Petersburg, &c., are not to be liable to quarters, but if they hire houses they must agree with the landlords for the civil expences. I laboured very much but without success to get over this point.

Some other articles recommended in the paper delivered to Government by the Russian Company[3] are not taken notice of in the inclosed paper, as from conversations which I have had at different times, as well with the English merchants here as her Imperial Majesty's Ministers, I found there was not the least probability of their being given in to.

As to the Persian trade, M. Panin tells me that as it was

[1] The 4th, 8th, and 27th were the only articles of the old Treaty which gave British commerce an advantage over that of other nations with Russia. In the matter of cloth and flannels especially England claimed to be treated as the 'most favoured Nation.'

[2] See vol. i., p. 90.

[3] See vol. i., pp. 82, 233 *et seq.*

prohibited by a particular order of the Empress Elizabeth's, it cannot be treated of till that order is revoked by her Imperial Majesty, but that if I make proposals, in form, he is persuaded that she will consent to enter into a separate Convention upon that head.

I have reason to believe that the conferences may be renewed, and some hopes, though they are far from being sanguine, that they will reduce their project to such a form as to encourage me to submit it to his Majesty's consideration.

I must observe that with regard to the omission of the former stipulation of equality of dutys in the fourth article, they express great surprize that it was ever inserted in the old Treaty, as it is directly contrary to a positive law of Peter the Great's. They further assert, and, I believe, with reason, that it has never been observed; the Russians have hitherto so seldom shipped any goods upon Russian vessels as to make it no object. However, the chance of future alterations may make it unadvisable for England to consent to the intended omission.

The stipulated term for the Treaty is for twenty years.

The Same to the Same.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: September 28 (N.S.), 1764.

As so much stress had been laid upon the sums of money which this Court had lately expended in Poland, I thought it might not be disagreeable to his Majesty to be acquainted with the exact amount of them, and upon the strictest inquiry I find that the election has cost the Czarina 782,000 roubles, exclusive of the presents she sends the King, to the value of about 2,000,000 ducats, a trifling expence when it is considered that the election of the late King of Poland cost this country 3,000,000 of roubles and 35,000 men, who either were killed, rendered unfit for service, or deserted. I begin to be persuaded that this Government is not really in any want of money. Your Lordship will find by a paper (which I sent with the last courier, and hope you received)[1] that the revenues of the Crown are greatly increased, and it is apparent to every body that the domestick expences are considerably retrenched. The Empress at her first accession extended her benevolence largely to her subjects in general, and more particularly to those who had been useful to her; but since that time her favours have been distributed with

[1] See p. 194, note.

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a scanty hand, insomuch that the nobility who have attended the Court to Petersburg complain that they cannot live suitably to their dignity, as they have no longer the same assistance from the Crown.

So great indeed is the present œconomy that ill-nature might give it a much harder name. I am informed, and cannot but believe, that her Imperial Majesty had a considerable treasure, which she industriously augments. It is not easy positively to determine what are the motives which, at the expence of the good-will of her subjects, determine her to this conduct, though I think it not difficult to assign what they might be. If her Imperial Majesty judiciously considers her own situation, she must be sensible that the stability of it will be very precarious as soon as her son comes to years of maturity, and prudence ought to dictate to her to prepare herself bytimes to make that retreat voluntary which possibly may become necessary. It is apparent to those who frequently see the Great Duke with her that she has no affection for him, and occasionally neglects him. Young as he is, this makes its impression. Nor is he absolutely without feelings for the fate of his father. Count Orlow, however, pays great court to him, and, as he interrupts his studys and enters into all the trifling amusements of that age, is a sort of favorite. The Empress for some months past has frequently had little differences with her favorite, who sometimes even in publick is wanting in due respect and even in common attention to her. There are of those who reason from thence that they are certainly marryed, imagining that if his situation was not fixed by such an engagement he would not risque to disoblige her; but certainly these scenes may equally be accounted for by the folly of a vain young upstart and the weakness of a woman in love. Yet her Imperial Majesty has at times eyes for others, and particularly for an amiable and an accomplished man who is not undeserving of her affection; he has good advisers and is not without some chance of success.

Though her Imperial Majesty's conduct since she left Moscow, and particularly for these last six months, has lost her the esteem and affection of many of her subjects, yet those who are most her enemies dread too much the dangers and confusion which might arise in a minority for there to be any present danger of a revolution. The death of the Great Duke would indeed be a most fatal event, as such is the present temper of the publick that it would be impossible to persuade them that it was natural.

His Prussian Majesty continues to pay the greatest court to the Empress. From the circumstances in Poland and the injudicious conduct of the Court of Vienna, his influence greatly prevails here, but ultimately (as I have formerly mentioned) I cannot but think this country will renew the connection with the House of Austria.

Count Orlow almost avows his dissatisfaction at Count Poniatowski's success. Many of the persons of the first distinction hold the same conduct, nor have there been any of those rejoicings which celebrated the election of the late King of Poland.

Notwithstanding the French and Austrian emissaries have taken every method to encourage such an idea, no candid person has now the least doubt of there having been any collusion in the late melancholy affair at Schlüsselburg.

Mirowitz, in pursuance of his sentence, was publickly beheaded on Wednesday last. He behaved at his execution, as he had done throughout the whole transaction, with the greatest resignation. Six of the soldiers and under officers who were engaged with him ran the gantlope the same day; they were so severely whipped that it is said three are since dead. Many more are to be punished. One Ushakow, lieutenant in the regiment of Welikolutz, who was privy to the design, was accidently drownded in his way from Smolensko.

A footman of the Court and one or two more inferior persons had some knowledge of Mirowitz's intention. One circumstance I must mention, that observing during his confinement that they were cautious of leaving a knife or any instrument in his possession with which he might put himself to death, he told them that they need not take those precautions, for that if his religion had not forbid him killing himself, he never would have survived the failure of his attempt. In the course of his trial he was asked if he knew that Prince Ivan was deficient in point of understanding; he answered that his knowledge of his inability incited him to the enterprize, as he meant to govern through him.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

Mirowitz during the whole course of his confinement and trial behaved with the greatest resignation and resolution; he was singularly devout, and though other provisions were offered him, he refused everything but bread and water and roots. Observing

that the keepers carefully kept the knives out of his reach, as if they feared he should attempt to put himself to death, he smiled and asked them if they thought his religion had not deterred him from self-murder, that he should ever have yielded himself prisoner. He acknowledged his offence, and declared that he submitted with the most perfect resignation to the punishment he deserved. Being asked if he knew that Ivan was an idiot, he answered in the affirmative, and alledged that circumstance as one of those which principally incited him to the attempt, as the imbecility of the Prince would probably throw the authority into the hands of his deliverer. When questioned as to his accomplices, he assured his judges he had already named them all, and hoped he should not be urged to accuse the innocent.

He was tried by the Senate, the Synod, and the heads of all the colleges; but, as they were particularly desirous to clear up this point, a committee of five persons, namely, the Hetman, General Galitzin, one of the bishops, Baron Cherkasow, and the Procureur-General, was appointed to examine him privately. He answered as before, and turning round quick to the Procureur-General (a very timid man) said: 'How should you like, sir, if I accused you?' He fell into a tremor and cried out eagerly, 'No, by no means, for God's sake!' Baron Cherkasow was extremely desirous that the question should be given to the prisoner, and upon that proposition being overruled he made a very warm speech, reflecting upon the method of proceeding, and insinuating that some of the senators (indirectly hinting at M. Panin) rather declined sifting the affair to the bottom, in order to encourage the ill-grounded suspicion which had been thrown out against the Empress. He was answered by General Panin and General Chernichow, who severely reprimanded him. Upon the whole his conduct gave great offence to the assembly, but the Empress and the Orlows approved of it.

The sentence was signed by all who attended the trial except the Orlows.

Mirowitz's calmness and courage did not desert him the day of his execution, but to the last he lamented the fate of the soldiers he had seduced.

The people were persuaded, as no person had been capitally punished in more than four-and-twenty years, that he would be pardoned at the place of execution, and many of the persons

whose curiosity brought them near the scaffold were shocked to the greatest degree when the executioner held up the head.

Prince Lobkowitz, the Austrian Envoy, who was walking with me in the garden of the palace at the moment of the execution, seemed persuaded he would not suffer. This was indeed the general opinion of the foreign Ministers and most of those who wished from his life being spared to have given a more plausible foundation to the insinuations they propagated. Had his punishment been mitigated, it would have been universally believed that he had been suborned in order to give a pretence for putting Ivan to death.

About a month before I left Petersburg, when I had the honour to be of the Empress's party at Czarskoselo, she took an opportunity of entering into this subject, and, asserting her innocence with tears in her eyes, assured me that nothing had ever given her so much uneasiness as the suspicion that she had directly or indirectly contributed to the unfortunate catastrophe at Schlüsselburg.

It is a significant circumstance that Count Woronzow told Feronce,[1] in June 1764, that an attempt would be made to put Ivan upon the throne during the Empress's absence at Riga.

Many offenders die of the consequences of the tortures they go through, but as this is not generally known it has not the effect of example. On this point I took notice on one occasion to the Empress, that though possibly it might surprise her Majesty to hear the Minister of a nation remarkable for the lenity of their punishments recommend the shedding of blood, yet I could not help giving it as my opinion that the long disuse of capital executions in her Empire had had the worst effects, and more particularly from the character of the Russians, who stand little in awe of confinement or bodily pain, but are remarkably fearful of dying, and that it really seemed to me indispensably necessary that the first proper opportunity should be taken to put an offender publicly to death.

The day after Mirowitz's execution she said to me, 'Vous voyez, monsieur l'Ambassadeur, que vos conseils ne sont pas jettés en l'air.'

[1] Von Feronce was Envoy from Brunswick to London in 1763.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: October 2 (N.S.), 1764.

The Turkish Envoy, though expected much sooner, has not yet reached Petersburg; he travels very slow, but it is imagined he will be here in five or six days. A letter I received yesterday from his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople takes notice that there is a great probability of a rupture between this Court and the Porte in a short time, arising from a jealousy of the allyance which the Czarina has contracted with his Prussian Majesty. Though they affect the contrary, I am of opinion the Russians are not quite easy upon that head. The violences the Prussians have committed on the borders of Poland have given some offence here, and I have reason to believe the King has by this time received a warm remonstrance upon that subject from her Imperial Majesty.

Sir John Goodricke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Stockholm: October 4, 1764.

I am [*cypher*] very glad to find that the Court of Petersburg give still some attention to the affairs of Sweden, which must now be decided either by the establishing the French system for some time to come, or by the erection of a new one. What M. Panin said to your lordship with regard to certain general points to be observed by us here is very just, but the greatest article of all was not mentioned by him: the present mercenary state of this country requires money to be spent by those who will have anything to say in the government of it, and especially in a case where we act opposite to a ruling party who have had the direction many years. Your Lordship will not therefore wonder if I am extremely desirous to know whether Russia proposes to be at any expence in the changing the system in Sweden, upon which I suppose the resolution of our Court as to that article will also depend. If this be not immediately determined it will be too late for us to form any plan for the measures to be taken at the Diet. Our party will be divided, and it must cost both money and pains to reassemble them, if it can be done at all. The King of Prussia's co-operating with us would be of great service, as it will help to keep the Queen of Sweden's party in order, if they should be disposed in any points to have separate views, and it would be highly usefull that his

Minister should have orders to act with Count Ostermann and me, otherwise the complacency he must naturally have for the desire of his master's sister might engage him sometimes to differ from us. Such orders will be more easily obtained, because so long ago as when I was in Silesia his Prussian Majesty was convinced that the Court party here did not always govern it by its own most essential interests, but has been frequently led to depart from them by artfull suggestions or secret enemies. I wish we may not have an instance of this in the beginning of the Diet with regard to the election of a Marshal, in which our friends seem to be united for Colonel Rudbeck, but the Queen has been persuaded by Count Fersen to propose President Rolamb for that office. Your Lordship will easily perceive the views and consequences of such a division, as well as the use of having the King of Prussia's concurrence to our candidate. As to the affair of M. Düben's letters, I know not from whence our Court had that intelligence, but a great part of it was not true. There was a report made to the Senate by Count Ekebladt in the beginning of June of a letter coming from that Minister; by his manner of representing at first, it was in strong terms with regard to the part Russia took in the stability of the liberties of Sweden, but when the letter was read it was found to be nothing of consequence, at least this is all I have been able to learn about the foundation of this story. [*End of Cypher.*]

The election of the members of the Diet for this city comes on next Wednesday; I am told there are great disputes among the burghers whether M. Stierman, the Speaker of that order in the last Diet, shall be elected or no, but I am not enough in their secrets to be able to prophesie how it will end.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: October 5 (N.S.), 1764.

The anniversary of her Imperial Majesty and the birthday of the Great Duke, which have been celebrated with magnificence here, have interfered with business for the last week. The great difficulty with regard to the Treaty of Commerce, which some of the commissioners tell me they cannot get over, is the equality of duties. Upon exact inquiry I find that hitherto, notwithstanding the assertions of some of the Russians to the contrary, the

old Treaty has been punctually executed in that respect, even when some goods have been shipped for England on board some Russian vessels built by Mr. Gomm, an English merchant who has contracts with this Government. They have, however, not been quite so scrupulous with regard to Russian commoditys sent to other countries, but have occasionally favoured their own subjects in the dutys.

It is evident that since the renewal of the Treaty has been in agitation, the Russian merchants and the under officers of the Customs have in many instances misled their superiors.

At first their project was stated to me as if they meant only to abate of the duties when Russian merchants exported goods in Russian vessels, but now it is explained that they mean to show that indulgence to their own subjects even when they make use of English vessels. It is not necessary to mention to your Lordship that the consequence of giving in to this alteration must ultimately ruin the English factory at Petersburg. The Consul thought that the goods shipped in Mr. Gomm's Russian vessels had been favoured in the duty, and had told me so; but upon inquiry has since found his mistake. This will account to your Lordship for an expression relative to the dutys in my dispatch of September 28.

Only one hundred thousand ducats is sent to the King of Poland; more was intended, but it is prudentially kept back for another year. It has been hinted to me that M. Panin is surprized that I have mentioned nothing to him lately upon the affairs of Sweden, as M. Gross has wrote word that your Lordship had told him that you had sent me full instructions upon that head. He must have misunderstood you, as I have had no instruction except in your letter of June 19, where I have his Majesty's orders to ask the opinion of this Court upon some particular points.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: October 9 (N.S.), 1764.

I was on Saturday evening with M. Panin, and tryed in vain to persuade him to agree to the old stipulation of equality of dutys. He asked me if I would not receive the project and send it to my Court. I desired to be excused, as it was of a nature that must be destructive to the English factory at Petersburg. He then told me he should communicate it to his Majesty's Ministers through

the channel of M. Gross, and intimated that if we could not agree upon the terms the English must expect to be put upon the same footing with the other merchants. Your Lordship will easily conceive how very unpleasant this must have been to me, but I cautiously avoided showing any unavailing warmth. All the difficulties arise from M. Teplow, and the most gross misrepresentations of the present state of trade and of their own ability to carry it on without the assistance of foreigners, which are made by the Russian merchants. I am persuaded that a year or two will convince them to their cost how superficially and ignorantly they reason.

In answer to your Lordship's of September 7, I must just take notice that I have not omitted any occasion directly or indirectly of convincing this Government that they must not expect any subsidy from England.[1]

Since the Court returned to Petersburg the dissatisfaction of the Russians at the distinctions shown to the Orlow family, and their jealousies and fears of what steps their ambitious views may lead them into, seem evidently to increase; how long the evil day may be deferred is uncertain, but the prospect is a most melancholy one.

The Earl of Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

October 12, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] The last mail brought me three of your Lordship's dispatches, which I immediately laid before the King, and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the King very much approves of the language you held to M. Panin upon the Swedish affairs, particularly in discountenancing all ideas of this country's taking upon it the burthen of subsidies, or even any share of them. Your delicacy, too, when you touched upon the point of a Russian army's assembling upon the frontiers of Sweden was very natural; but his Majesty is of opinion that you might have given your sentiments to M. Panin a little more freely upon that subject, as such a step would certainly make a considerable impression upon the councils of the Diet, encouraging the friends of the good cause, and creating uneasiness and disunion among the resolutions of the adverse party. The French are extremely apprehensive of such a measure

[1] Panin had informed Solms about this time, 'Que l'alliance avec l'Angleterre serait conclue dès que cette Cour se résoudrait à payer 500,000 roubles à S.M.I.' (See *Polit. Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten*, vol. xxiii., p. 486.)

and would readily make use of all their efforts to traverse it, and this single consideration is sufficient for us to regard it as a very eligible project; if, therefore, any hint of this sort should be again thrown out in your way, your Lordship will do well to take it up as from yourself and enlarge upon its apparent utility, without, however, engaging for the sentiments of your Court, as they would not fail to make use of such an overture as a pretext to engage us in a share of the expense. The King was sorry that the interior of Russia carryed so unpromising an appearance, and thinks that the remedies which are proposed will only serve to heighten the disease. The setting up an excluded branch, and declaring them successors in case of failure in the present, is little less in such a country as Russia than marking out the grant of a future victim; and if once the Empress is reduced to the necessity of complying with such a demand, she must no longer consider herself a sovereign. Your Lordship says nothing upon the apprehensions your Court may entertain of a speedy rupture with the Porte; and the intelligence which we have received upon that subject is so well attested that you may safely assert to M. Panin that there is much greater appearances of Russia's being at the eve of a war with the Turks than Great Britain with the French. I will own to you, my Lord, that the whole face of things within the place of your residence wears so lowering a cast that I may congratulate your Excellency upon having obtained your recall, and being ready to retire from so unpromising a scene. Mr. Macartney will set out in eight or ten days, and will lose no time in repairing to his place of destination. In the mean time, if these clouds should desperse and business should be carryed on with vigour, your Excellency may still have the satisfaction of concluding the Treaty of Commerce, though you may be assured that the want of success in this or any other of your Lordship's negociations will never be laid to your charge, his Majesty being too just, as well as too well acquainted with the real state of affairs, ever to impute that to a neglect in his servants which is really owing to particular circumstances of the place and persons, which render ineffectual all that the best ability, actuated by the warmest zeal, can propose and undertake. [*End of Cypher.*]

Lord Stormont to the Same.

Vienna: October 13, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] There are various letters from Constantinople which talk much of the military preparations carrying on there, and seem to have no doubt of their being pointed against Russia, however little she may have to apprehend from such an enemy. I own I cannot but wish extremely that means may be found to prevent extremities. Various pretences have been made use of to excuse the difficulty this Court make in acknowledging the King of Poland, who, as you know, sent his brother hither to sound their sentiments; but I am persuaded that the true cause of these delays is that, after having acted all along in the affairs of Poland in concert with the House of Bourbon, they do not chuse to separate from them in this last step, and therefore wait the final answer from France and Spain, which is not yet arrived. [*End of Cypher.*]

On Thursday last the King of the Romans, who is expected here to-morrow, had an interview with the Electress of Saxony and Princess Cunegonde at Töplitz.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: October 17 (N.S.), 1764.

I was yesterday in the evening with M. Panin, and entered into the subject of your Lordship's dispatch of September 18, which I received the day before. He dwelt much upon the inconsiderableness of the sum and the inexpediency of limiting any in transactions of so precarious a nature.[1] But upon my pressing him to declare positively whether his Court would agree to pay their moiety, he declined entering into any stipulation of that sort, urging that it was too much œconomy and a limited expense which occasioned the disgrace the plan of England and Russia

[1] Lord Sandwich had written that, according to Sir J. Goodricke's opinion, about 8,000*l.* were necessary for immediate use to gain a majority in the Diet and secure the secret committee, and that eventually 25,000*l.* would be needed. Lord Buckinghamshire was to find out whether Russia was prepared to share in these expenses.

experienced in the year 1747.[1] He assured me we should find her Imperial Majesty disposed to act warmly in conjunction with us, and that her Minister at Stockholm would not be backward on his part in the necessary expences; that M. Stachieff being appointed Resident and ordered to set out immediately, and the instructions preparing for Count Ostermann, which should be communicated to me *in extenso*, would sufficiently prove the intentions of his Court; that they were ready to concurr with us in electing Colonel Rudbeck Marshal of the Diet; in obtaining a majority of the secret committee; in preventing Sweden's entering into the late propositions of France; and, if we wished it, to contribute on their part to throw Sweden as much into the hands of England as she had been for some time past in those of her rival. He explained, however, that Russia did not think that object of such consequence to her as to give in to an idea of paying any part of the subsidys, which in that case would be unavoidable.

He proposes that the Ministers of the two Courts at Stockholm should make as many friends as possible, and concert confidentially with each other when any points of consequence were in agitation.

I observed to him that my Court made this proposition principally with a view of seeing how far her Imperial Majesty might be inclined to act in conjunction with us in Sweden, of which the long delay of any explicit explanation upon the subject might justly have given some little doubts. He replyed that such suspicions were unkind and unmerited, upon which I could not help taking notice that it was my opinion, not only as a Minister but as a private man, that Russia had not shown that cordiality and those facilitys in the negotiations which had been agitated during my residence in this country, that England had with reason expected. He alledged that we would not be satisfyed unless all the stipulations were in our favour. I said that such an accusation might with more justice be laid upon the Ministers of her Imperial Majesty, and our conversation took the same turn with those relative to the Treaty of Allyance, which have already been

[1] See vol. i., p. 21. In 1747 the Swedes were uncertain whether to ally themselves with Prussia or Russia. They decided in favour of Frederic II., and to this Treaty the French were invited to accede. It is related that when the Russians and English paid bribes to secure the election of members of the Diet who were in their interest, the Swedes took the money and openly voted in the French interests. See *P.R.O. Sweden*, vol. cxx.

mentioned in my former dispatches. He laid great stress upon an expression which M. Gross in his last letter mentions your Lordship to have made use of, that England was determined to meddle as little as possible with the affairs of the Continent, which he said was a serious consideration to Russia, whose views could only be Continental.

I must observe that a suspicion of the Court of England's intending to make the present disposition of a joint limited expence lead to a future stipulation of Russia's paying hereafter her part of the subsidy to Sweden, seemed to me one of the reasons which determined M. Panin to decline entering into our propositions.

Thirty thousand roubles have already been sent to Count Ostermann. Stachieff is setting out, and there is every appearance of this Court's intending to act with zeal. I must add to this that M. Panin's assurances to me were of a nature that he would forfeit all pretensions to that honour and candour upon which he so much piques himself if they were not sincere.[1]

The Same to the Same.

[*Separate and most secret.*] Petersburg: October 30 (N.S.), 1764.

A Russian courier arrived here a few days ago from England, and his dispatches were judged to be of such importance that M. Panin decyphered them himself. I have not had any conversation with him since, but it has been hinted to me that they relate to a private correspondence of Baron Breteuil's which the English ministry had discovered and communicated to M. Gross. Nothing has transpired lately of any resolution the Empress may have formed in favour of the Brunswick family, except a surmise which was lately intimated to me that she had some idea of sending for a daughter of the Duke's named Catherine, now near fifteen, to Court. It is said she is very handsome, and that her appearance promises greatly in her favour. I must add, though I believe this has been mentioned, it seems to me rather improbable that it should take effect. M. Panin has repeated to me the resolutions of his Court to act with spirit in Sweden, and seems still to have greatly at heart such a general alliance of all the northern

[1] The substance of this despatch was repeated by Lord Buckinghamshire to Sir John Goodricke on the same day.

Powers as may check the insatiable and restless ambition of the House of Bourbon. The project of the Treaty of Alliance with Denmark had not yet been delivered to the Minister of that Court. The Great Chancellor is expected at Petersburg before Christmas, but I hope and believe M. Panin will still in effect have the principal direction of foreign affairs.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: October 30 (N.S.), 1764.

I was admitted on Sunday to a private audience of her Imperial Majesty, and made a compliment suitable to the instructions I had received.[1]

The Empress expressed the greatest satisfaction at this fresh instance of his Majesty's friendship and of that cordiality which she should use her best endeavours to cultivate. She also strongly declared her resolution to contribute on her part to preserve the proper balance of power and the general tranquillity of Europe.

The departure of the Russian courier had been put off from day to day. I understand that he will be charged with that plan of a Treaty of Commerce, the acceptance of which I thought it necessary to decline.

The Earl of Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

October 30, 1764.

Sir George Macartney being ready to embark on board the first packet boat which sails for Holland, in order to repair to Petersburg with as much dispatch as the nature of his journey will allow, I send your Excellency the earliest intelligence of it, that you may better judge of the time when you will expect to be relieved. I hope before your Excellency's departure from your place of residence that the frosts will be so well set in and the

[1] Lord Sandwich had written (September 28, 1764) that Lord Buckinghamshire should in the King's name make a compliment to the Czarina on the election of Stanislas Poniatowski to the throne of Poland, adding that 'an election carried on with such unanimity and quiet, contrary to the usages of former times, reflected great honour upon the wisdom and moderation of H.I.M., and gave an agreeable prospect that it will contribute to strengthen public tranquillity and preserve the balance of power so necessary to the repose and prosperity of Europe.' *Buckinghamshire Papers.*

weather so favorable that you will meet with no difficulties in your way, and that your journey will be as safe and pleasant as your friends can desire it.

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Same.

The Hague: November 3, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] The account of the unfortunate branch of Brunswick is very interesting, and will probably have some consequence. In the mean time, you may depend upon the secret. I can hardly think the Czarina would be disposed to set them at liberty unless forced to it by the weakness of her Government; for I do not otherwise see why she is more under a necessity of marrying or naming a successor to her succession than our Queen Elizabeth. At all events, I shall be glad for her sake if she can do anything to recover her credit in Europe, and make negotiations with her more agreeable. I do not wonder as things are that your Lordship desires to return home, though I will still flatter myself that you will not return with empty hands, and that after all your application and zeal the last moments will effectuate what two years' hard labour hath not been able to do. A late conference to which you have been called has puzzled much, but I from one channel have been told what struck me as the probable subject of it, and that was a Danish negotiation, which seems calculated (though a little difficult to unite) to obtain the security of their new northern alliance with the pecuniary advances of the French. The Court of Denmark is always too refined for plain understanding; the only thing that I comprehend is that they are afraid of Russia and Prussia, and apprehensive that Sweden should get the start of them. If this intelligence is founded it will in all probability be taken *ad referendum* and drawn out somewhat longer. Our altercations with France and Spain are happily ended, though it appeared clearly in the course of them that they acted in concert, and meant to feel our pulse; but, finding us resolved to do ourselves justice if they refused it, they prudently prevented our resentment by submitting. This conduct they will certainly hold no longer than they are forced to it, and they will try their strength whenever they think themselves ready, which will not be for some time, however. What our plan will be to oppose them is not in appearance yet determined—I mean in point of foreign connection, for the

maritime part will be well attended to. What your Lordship mentions about the friendly conduct of the Prussian Minister and his endeavours to unite us closely with Russia and his master is a whimsical thing, for why [quarrel] with us at Berlin and London and be so eager for our friendship in a third place? Sooner or later that system must come to some consistency, for an Austrian one seems every day more and more impracticable, though the Queen of Hungary at times makes a show of the contrary, but draws back whenever she is brought to close quarters. [*End of Cypher.*]

The election in Poland gave me as much personal as publick satisfaction. I have long been intimately acquainted with his present Polish Majesty, and have had the agreeable experience that his new elevation has not in the least diminished his attention or the warmth of his friendship.

The only article of news which occurs to me as necessary perhaps to mention, because uncouth representations have been made about it, is what relates to Bengal; every thing, you may depend upon it, was quiet in that province—no appearance of any disturbance from any of the Indian Powers who have given refuge to the deposed Nabob;[1] and the reinforcements were to arrive in this month, though Lord Clive was not to be there till January.

Your Excellency will probably have been informed by authority that in North America everything had been settled with the natives to the satisfaction of the King and the advantage of Great Britain.

Somehow or other the Portuguese and the Spaniards do not seem yet to be quite reconciled; the respective Ambassadors are not yet got to their posts, though their equipages have been there a long time. Magazines upon the frontiers of Portugal, troops marching that way, and augmentations in the troops help to increase suspicion and afford matter for the speculative.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: November 6 (N.S.), 1764.

In my conversation with M. Panin upon the affairs of Sweden I declined enlarging upon the idea of Russia's assembling a body

[1] Mir Cossim, deposed by the East India Company in July 1763.

of troops upon the frontiers of Sweden at the time of the Extraordinary Diet, as your Lordship in your dispatch of August 14 directs me to take particular care to give no opinion as to the expediency of the measure, and mention it only as a piece of intelligence received from an authentick hand. I shall now, whenever any opportunity offers, urge the apparent utility and necessary consequences of such a step as strongly as with propriety I may, an idea which is to appear my private sentiments.[1]

It is evident from all my conversations with M. Panin that though he is very desirous of uniting the powers of the North to awe the House of Bourbon, yet he is determined to throw as much of the expence as possible upon England. This arises as well from the difficulty he has in obtaining any money from the Empress, to whom he is obliged to resort for the smallest sums, as from a wish officiously to flatter the parsimonious disposition of her Imperial Majesty. I have frequently taken notice to your Lordship of the Ministerial insinuations which have been made me, of her being in want of money, and therefore was not a little surprized some days ago when she was pleased to take notice to me of the present affluent state of her finances, and of the great increase her arrangements had made in the publick revenue.

With regard to the interior state of this country, to describe it in a few words, it appears to me as one great mass of combustibles with incendiaries placed in every corner. Providence, for the safety and well-being of individuals, may miraculously preserve the publick tranquillity, but it would be difficult for human prudence to define what measures would most effectually contribute to it. I have not, however, very lately received any alarming intelligence. At that juncture when my desire to render my services agreeable to his Majesty, and the vain hopes which I had indulged of accomplishing the objects of my mission induced me to express an inclination to remain at Petersburg this winter, the terror of the times, though too lightly conceived, was such that more than one of the foreign Ministers, imagining from my intimacy with the Russians that I might have early intelligence of any disturbance, desired me to give them notice, that they might take care of their persons and effects.

Had I had grounds sufficient to suppose this country was at the eve of a war with Turkey, your Lordship should undoubtedly

[1] See p. 225.

have been fully acquainted with them. I have indeed received such accounts as well from Constantinople as Vienna, and ideas of that tendency have been communicated to me here by those who I know to be enemys to the present establishment in Russia and the connections which seem the most likely to be adopted. I will not take upon me to say such an event may not happen, but I do not perceive the immediate prospect of it. So far I made use of the report as to mention some time ago (what your Lordship seems to wish I should) to M. Panin, that Russia was nearer a war with Turkey than England with France, to which he was far from assenting. The Turkish Envoy has had his audience of leave; his hasty return as well as his having absented himself from some entertainments which were prepared for him have been alledged as indications of an approaching rupture, but he is eighty-four years of age, very infirm, and expresses a desire of dying in his own country.

The Same to the Same.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: November 9 (N.S.), 1764.

Since my last I have been as particular as possible in my inquiries relative to the supposed immediate prospect of a war with Turkey, and have received the most positive assurances from a person who has never yet deceived me, that this Court has not the least reason to suspect that the Porte has any intention of attacking them. On the other hand, I must mention that for some days past there has been an appearance as if something of consequence was in agitation, nor can there be any doubt but that if French money and French and Austrian intrigues can induce the Turk to disturb the tranquillity of Russia and impede the designs of the Czarina, the emissaries of those Courts will at this juncture exert themselves to the utmost. Some time ago I acquainted your Lordship of the instances which had been made from hence to Poniatowski to marry immediately, upon the report that her Imperial Majesty had herself intentions of forming such a connection with him. I am assured that the advice greatly mortifyed him, and also that he is sensibly affected at the slight notice which has been taken of him from hence since his election. The Empress cannot but be informed that the report of a projected marriage with the present King of Poland not only took its rise

from Bestucheff, but was also most industriously propagated by him, and yet he has not felt any marks of her resentment, a remarkable circumstance and a full proof of the protection he receives from Count Orlow; nor is it very unnatural to suppose that the latter might wish to have such a rumour propagated at that critical juncture of the affairs of Poland, to prevent the ideas really taking place hereafter when circumstances might be more favourable. As Count Orlow for some time past has not only showed me the greatest marks of civility and distinction, but has also accompanyed them with the most obliging offers of his services upon any occasion where he could be usefull, I thought it incumbent upon me to try to avail myself of this opening, though my hopes of deriving any essential utility from it were not very sanguine. I therefore, by appointment, waited upon him on Tuesday evening last, and met with the reception of a friend. I began the conversation by mentioning that as now the time of my leaving Russia approached, I could not omit expressing the most lively sense of the distinguished civilities he had been pleased to show me, that his having lately signifyed to me in the strongest terms his preferential regard to the English nation and his dislike (which he said he could not dissemble) to the manners and insidious politicks of the French fully convinced me, that it was unnecessary to urge to him the natural and necessary bands which ought ever to unite the empires of Great Britain and Russia; but still, when I considered the number of persons who either by intrigue, from their prejudices or from their interest, were biassed to the views of France, also that a Minister of distinction was soon expected from that Court,[1] I could not help intreating him to avail himself of the favor in which he so deservedly stood with his Sovereign to inforce those ideas and those measures to her, of which his own good sense suggested the expediency. He answered me that though he was convinced that H.I.M.'s sentiments were too much conformable to his own to make any little influence of his necessary, yet he should upon

[1] Since May 1763 France had been represented at the Russian Court only by a *Chargé d'Affaires*, M. Bérenger. In December 1763 M. le Marquis de Bausset received instructions to go to St. Petersburg as Minister Plenipotentiary, but his departure was delayed by the King until April 29, 1765, owing chiefly to the uncertainty the French Government was in as to Russian action in the Polish election. See *Recueil des Instructions, etc.: Russie*, vol. ii., pp. 223, 242.

every occasion loudly express those sentiments which he could not nor indeed wished not to disguise. I mentioned to him the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Teplow as friends to France; he agreed with me, and said there were many more. I afterwards took notice of the circumstances which prevented the conclusion of the Treaty of Commerce, and pressed him to urge the Empress the real advantage Russia derived from her trade to England, and the great loss she risqued by discouraging it, and the possibility of its influencing in some degree the friendship of the two nations. He promised me to speak of it to the Empress, and that if she would permit him to interfere in a matter of that nature he would contribute to remove the difficulties as far as possibly he could without essentially prejudicing the interests of his fellow subjects. When I took my leave I assured him that I should not fail to inform the King my master of our conversation, who would undoubtedly hear with the greatest satisfaction that a person of his credit and influence had sentiments so agreable to the views and wishes of England.

The Hetman, who has been very ill, has the Empress' leave to travel for his health. General Romanzow is going soon as Governor into the Ukraine.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

General Romanzow,[1] the besieger and conqueror of Colberg, remained long unnoticed after his return to Petersburg, till the merit of his sister (Countess Bruce [2]) dragged his forth and made him Lieutenant-General of the Ukraine. His courage and activity are both problematical. Being on one occasion mortified and embarrassed with his situation, he remained four months in an old nightgown, complaining of a hardness in his belly; immediately upon being assured that the Empress meant to employ him, he came forth perfectly well, though his belly was said to be as hard as ever. His appearance is rather haughty, but after the first introduction you find him not only affable but desirous to oblige. The conquered countries experienced and acknowledged his humanity, and regretted his recall.

Countess Romanzow, mother of the general of that name and of the Countess Bruce, has prudentially availed herself of her

[1] Peter Alexandrovitch Romanzow, 1725–1796.

[2] See vol. i., p. 224.

daughter's personal advantages. She is the daughter of Matvieff, Peter the Great's ambassador who was arrested in England. She is always of the Empress's private parties, and has interest enough to make an ensign or to get a page whipt. The foreign Ministers in general show her great attention; she affects to have, and people are disposed to give her, more consequence than really belongs to her, in fact she is just that sort of Court gossip who can do mischief but no essential service.

Sir John Goodricke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Stockholm: November 9, 1764.

As our post from Petersburg arrives now but once a week, I was only honoured last Saturday morning with your Excellency's letter of the 17th past [*Cypher*], which has been of incredible service to our affairs here, by enabling both Count Ostermann and myself to hold a language to the Court which we hope will keep that party steady in our interest. The delay of resolution had already given the French party but too great advantage, and your Lordship's letter came at the most critical conjuncture to us to make an opposition to a proposal of the Court of Versailles about their arrears, which would perhaps have induced our Court to think these people had rendered their connection with France eternal. I flatter myself that I shall be able to convince them of the contrary when the Diet comes, but it was very essential to the success of our future operation that we should keep the Court in good humour, which your Lordship's obliging informations have put us in the way of doing; but I must beg leave to intreat the continuance of your good offices with the Court of Petersburg, that Count Ostermann's instructions may be sent to him as soon as possible, for we can do nothing effectually till they arrive, though I can assure your Lordship he works in the mean time as an able Minister for the interest of the two Courts. However, all our efforts may be in vain if England and Russia do not resolve what expence they will make and give us credit for that sum; the great affair here is to profit of the moments favourable for our purpose, and which, once lost, are never recovered. Therefore the best restriction a Court can give a Minister in this country is to instruct him that he is not to spend any more if such points are not carryed; but to tell him he shall write for instructions when the Diet is assembled

would be to bid him to spend their money without effect; they must decide what they will bestow, and the plan of operations must be formed accordingly. Nothing can be more satisfactory than what M. Panin said to you upon our present project, and as to his objection about being engaged in the payment of a subsidy, it will fall of itself, since our friends are now resolved to proceed upon the plan of having no subsidiary Treaty for the future, but a defensive allyance upon equal terms. This is what will very probably be necessary for to set up against the present connection with France. Neither calumny nor flattery nor offers of money nor any other artifices are neglected at this moment by the French party in order to detach the King and Queen of Sweden from us,[1] so that we have had a hard game to play; but the arrival of instructions from Petersburg and of the credit of our Court will put us in condition to the purpose. The French Ambassader has begun to give money already, as your Lordship will have heard. Any particulars that you may desire to know with regard to these matters [you can obtain] from the Russian Ministers. [*End of Cypher.*]

Mr. Burnet to the Same.[2]

Berlin: Tuesday, November 13, 1764.

Count Woronzow, the Great Chancellor of Russia, arrived here with his family on the 2nd inst. from Lübeck. He is lodged in the house of Prince Dolguruki, the Russian Minister at this Court, and it is reported he intends to pass the best part of the winter in Berlin. Last Wednesday, upon receiving an invitation from his Prussian Majesty, the Great Chancellor went to Potzdam. He returned hither the same day in the evening extremely satisfyed, I am told, with the gracious reception he met with from the King of Prussia, with whom he had the honour to dine.

General Nugent, who is named by the Court of Vienna to succeed General Reidt, the Austrian Minister at this Court (who had asked to be recalled) is expected here very soon.

[1] Goodricke reports that the French have offered the Queen 200,000 or 300,000 Swedish crowns. They spread everywhere also, he writes, the statement that England's design in the impending Diet was to ruin all Swedish manufactures in order to introduce her own. See despatches of November 6 and 16, 1764, *P.R.O. Sweden*, vol. cxxviii.

[2] See p. 216.

Lord Sandwich to the Same.

Whitehall: November 13, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] As the Russian Ministers have lately applyed to your Lordship upon the subject of the Swedish affairs, I have the King's commands to acquaint your Lordship that the King has lately directed such orders to be dispatched to his Minister at Stockholm as will convince the Court of Petersburg how ready his Majesty is to co-operate with them in those measures which will promote their mutual interests and effectually maintain the ballance of power in the North. M. Panin will most certainly be informed of the whole extent of these instructions by the time that this will reach your Excellency's hands, and as he will probably renew his conversation with you upon an affair so interesting to his Court, or you yourself may think proper to resume it, you will take care to make him sensible that it will be impossible to think of embarking farther upon so uncertain a bottom, unless the Court of Russia shall make such overtures here and propose such a plan as upon mature examination shall be a foundation adapted equally to the end proposed and consistent with the system of this country. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: November 13 (N.S.), 1764.

The day after I had my audience of the Empress to compliment her upon the election of the King of Poland, a courier was dispatched to Warsaw, earnestly requesting that Prince in the Empress's name to recall his brother from Vienna immediately, as it was beneath his dignity to submit any longer to the delays of that Court. Count Orlow informed me on Sunday that he had conversed with M. Teplow upon the subject of the Treaty of Commerce, and particularly relative to the article of equality of dutys, and that he said it was impossible to give up the privilege granted by Peter the Great to Russian subjects exporting goods upon Russian vessels navigated by Russians, but that he seemed disposed to yield with regard to goods that Russian merchants might export in foreign vessels. As this passed in the circle in a whisper, and Count Orlow is little versed in the French language, I might misunderstand him, but I shall see M. Teplow in a day or

two, who, I imagine, will explain himself to me fully upon the subject. Count Orlow renewed in very strong terms the assurances of his desire to serve and oblige me. A copy of his Majesty's letter to the King of Poland has been transmitted to the Empress from Warsaw and is greatly admired.

I am just returned from M. Panin, whom, upon account of his sister-in-law's illness and death, I had hardly seen this fortnight. As our conversation turned upon the affairs of Sweden, I unaffectedly threw out that the French party were greatly afraid of this country's marching troops towards the frontiers of Sweden at the time the Diet should be assembled, adding that undoubtedly if a few regiments were to file off that way it must have great effect. He answered that such a thing might easily be contrived, but that he hoped we should carry our points without it. I spoke to him of the prevailing report that the Turks intended making war with Russia. He assured me that the last letters which came from the Russian Minister at the Porte, dated September 7, mentioned that the little dissatisfaction which had been expressed upon occasion of the election in Poland was greatly subsided, and that the armaments which were making were rather against the Khan of Tartary (with whom the Grand Seignior was greatly displeased) than Russia.

The Same to Sir John Goodricke.

Petersburg: November 15, 1764.

. . . I have now little of importance to mention except that the Prussian Minister has received an account of the removal of the Khan of Tartary,[1] and of his son's being invested with his authority; it is asserted that a hint was given him from the Grand Seignior not to tread in the steps of his predecessor, least he should meet with the same fate. [Notwithstanding all the reports to the contrary, this Government affects not to be under any apprehensions of an impending war with Turkey; they alledge that the armaments so much talked of were intended to deter the Khan from disputing the orders of the Porte.] I saw M. Panin about three days ago, and he assured me that the Prussian Minister at

[1] This was the Khan of the Crimea, Kerim Geray, who had been used as an instrument by the French and Austrians to incite the Turks against Russia. See *Polit. Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten*, vol. xxiv., p. 24, etc.

Stockholm had been directed by his Court to act in concert with him, you, and Count Ostermann, also that the King of Prussia was far from having any blind partiality to the speculative schemes of his sister; but that on the contrary he had ever advised her not to interfere in business, as the conduct the most conducive to the advantage of her family. It has been insinuated to me that the French party have thoughts of chusing the late Swedish Ambassador[1] at Paris Marshal of the Diet. As a body of Russian troops upon the frontiers at the time the Diet is assembled may contribute to awe our opponents, I privately insinuated the great utility of such a measure, and have reason to believe that some step of that nature will unaffectedly be taken. I have been privately informed of a suspicion that the French, dissatisfyed at the Court of Denmark for not entering into all their designs,[2] have an idea of strengthening their influence in Sweden at the expense of that country; you will be so good as to take no notice of this piece of intelligence unless you should hear it confirmed.

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

Petersburg: November 16 (N.S.), 1764.

Mr. Fowell has found such protection here that my attempts to persuade the Government to oblige him to satisfy Miss Bramston's demands otherwise than in consequence of a regular proceeding in their own Courts have been ineffectual. I have talked to Fowell myself, but all the arguments of justice, humanity, and the stain which by his obstinacy he must necessarily incur, of being deprived of the rights of an English subject, would not influence him to enter even into a most reasonable compromise. He is advised and supported by an Irish merchant, one Cavanaugh, who is intimate with many Russians of distinction.

The Empress has been confined these three days; a rheumatick disorder which seized her yesterday morning prevented the honor, which I am assured she intended me, of coming to an entertainment at my house.

[1] Baron Ulrich Scheffer, the real head of the French party in Sweden.

[2] The 'Family Compact' had inclined the Duc de Choiseul to rely on his Southern rather than his Northern alliances, and the Treaty with Denmark of 1754, having expired in March 1764, was not renewed. On this occasion the French proposals were not accompanied by an offer of subsidy. See *Recueil des Instructions, etc.: Danemark*, p. lxii.

The Same to the Same.

[*Separate and most secret.*] Petersburg: November 16 (N.S.), 1764.

I have at last obtained an account which I believe to be authentick of M. Gross's private dispatch. It consists of a vague relation of the present interior state of England, and mentions a probability of a coalition of partys. He also enters into a long speculative reasoning upon what will probably be the future political conduct of his Majesty's Ministers. Upon the whole, though he writes with great affectation of importance, what he communicates is of little moment. M. Gross's principles and prejudices are too well known to your Lordship for me to inlarge upon my suspicions that he is no cordial friend to the country where he now resides, and if you will recollect Count Bestucheff's most earnest recommendation of him mentioned in my dispatch of January 27, you may possibly be of opinion that he is not very strongly attached to M. Panin.

I cannot forbear suggesting to your recollection an opinion which I formerly gave (April 3) that from the many favourers of the French, and the far more numerous partisans of the house of Austria, any change here of those who direct publick affairs would be detrimental to his Majesty's views, always excepting an event which I wish were as probable and as immediate as I am sure it is desirable, that the Court of Vienna, by abandoning her French connections, should at once reconcile herself to England and Russia, in which case things would soon settle into the system which prevailed during Bestucheff's administration. M. Panin is undoubtedly in general well disposed to act in concert with us, but the King of Prussia is his idol, and I fear influences too much upon his conduct. The present apparent cordiality which subsists between the Czarina and his Prussian Majesty is a speaking proof that she can sometimes make her passions and prejudices subservient to the objects of the day; yet one may trace such a determined aversion to the French, even in the most trivial instances, as must ever bias her actions, especially as her favorite does not attempt to disguise his dislike to that nation. M. Panin told me that he had heard lately with the greatest satisfaction of a projected marriage between the Prince of Denmark and a Princess of England, as it was an alliance which could not but have a good effect upon the general system of Europe. I assured him that no intelligence of that nature had reached me.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

It was not till the Empress was disgusted with the idea of making France a party to the renewal of the ancient Treaty with the Empress Queen, and offended at her conduct in relation to the Duchy of Courland, that she changed her sentiments towards the Court of Vienna. The measures of the Austrian Ministers seem ever since to have been calculated to exasperate her, the disrespectful reports they have upon every occasion almost avowedly propagated, and those intentions, which they so haughtily asserted and so meanly desisted from, to counteract her views in Poland have raised her indignation to the utmost. Still, however, they have reason to depend upon Count Orlow's influence and the natural bent of most of the persons of consequence, and if once they got rid of their French connections and submit to flatter the Empress, it would not be long before the antient system took place.

As much offended at the Court of France, her resentment is strengthened by her contempt and aversion for that presuming and intriguing nation, and however cautious prudence should be in making any assertions relative to the future conduct of a precarious Government, where caprice may change the measures and the Ministers in half-an-hour, I cannot but be of opinion that there is not the most distant prospect of Russia's being directed by French counsels. Necessity formed her alliance with the King of Prussia, as she found him essential to secure her views in Poland, and though she has been in some instances dissatisfied with that Prince she will probably think the same necessity still exists, while the conduct of the Empress Queen seems dictated by the House of Bourbon. If the Czarina has a preferential regard to any nation, it is for the English, but she will never sacrifice her interests and her popularity to it; and as some of those round her have suggested to her that the stipulations in the former Treaties of Commerce and Alliance were too much in our favour, she will hold back as long as possible in hopes of obtaining some favourable alterations. I have great reason to believe that M. Panin did his utmost to persuade the Empress to come into the terms we proposed. But many of those who in effect were not averse to England, but were friendly to the Court of Vienna, may possibly have tried to delay our Treaty of Alliance, as they might imagine the conclusion of it

at this juncture would strengthen the present connection with Prussia. Though the Dutch are included in the great Northern Alliance which M. Panin wishes to form, it has ever greatly surprised me that the Empress and her Ministers were by no means sensible of the consequence of that nation, and of the influence which the Prince of Orange, when he comes of age, from the treasure which he will have the disposal of, from his own independent income, and the almost absolute sway he at present bears in the United Provinces, may have upon the affairs of Europe.

The Earl of Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whitehall: November 20, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] Your letter of the 7th past was duly received and laid before the King, and I take the earliest opportunity of answering it, as, upon comparing the language M. Panin held with your Lordship upon the Swedish affairs with the conduct of Count Ostermann at Stockholm, it appears that the plan of Russia is very [1] to that purpose by which Sir John Goodricke is to regulate his conduct. The electing a Marshall of the Diet,[2] the obtaining a majority in the secret committee, and the preventing Sweden from entering into the late propositions of France are essentially the first objects in which both Courts are perfectly agreed. His Majesty's Minister has constantly received instructions to act in the most confidential manner with that of Russia, to concert with him in every point of importance, and to move with him step by step; from whence it must naturally follow that if (as M. Panin assured you) the late mentioned sum of thirty thousand roubles has been already despatched to Count Ostermann, and that this Minister has orders not to be backward on his part in the necessary expences, her Imperial Majesty has adopted the measures proposed by this Court. As to the affair of subsidys, in which Russia seems to be apprehensive of being involved upon our account, they may be assured that his Majesty has no intention of leading them into difficulties of that nature, neither does such a supposition seem to tally at all with the other of M. Panin's discourse. He laid great

[1] Cypher defective.

[2] The Marshal of the Diet had not only the direction of all the deliberations in the House of Nobles, but also the privilege of voting in all committees. He was therefore an important person to gain. See Goodricke to Sandwich, September 21, 1764, *P.R.O. Sweden*, vol. cxxix.

stress upon the idea that England was determined to meddle as little as possible with the affairs of the Continent. Sweden is by no means a maritime power of weight enough to engage Great Britain into a subsidy merely upon that consideration, and therefore the advantage of gaining her by a subsidy (if any such existed) would principally arise from her Continental connection. If M. Gross expresst himself in any letter with so much latitude upon this subject as to give the Russian Ministry room to suppose that Great Britain was quite indifferent upon what composed the Continental system, he formed his opinion from believing that this country would now take too little concern in those points where experience has taught us that we have hitherto taken far too much. The truth is that his Majesty, duely weighing wherein the interest as well as the strength of this kingdom principally consists, will not throw away the advantages of its situation by making it a part of the Continent, but will never lose sight of the great weight and influence which it can only maintain by making a proper use of its power as an island. I believe the Russian Ministers, as well as the other Courts of Europe, understand this language perfectly well; but it is natural for States as well as individuals, who have largely shared the liberalities of others, to call that ill-placed parsimony which is only wisdom and necessary œconomy. Your Lordship has seen by my last that these reflexions have all been really justifiably given, since his Majesty, after having risked a certain expence in conjunction with his ally to break those connections in Sweden which have been hitherto prejudicial to the system of the North, now leaves it to Russia to transmit to your Lordship her plan which she may wish to offer for their mutual interests, which will be received and considered with all that impartial and friendly attention due to an antient and natural ally; but I return again to repeat to your Lordship that England will not take the lead in the affairs of Sweden, of which M. Gross has been so frequently apprized that he must have willingly misled his Court if he has held to them a contrary language [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

Most secret.] Petersburg: November 23 (N.S.), 1764.

By the best information I can obtain the accounts brought by the last Russian courier from Constantinople are as follows: That

the first intelligence of the election of the King of Poland occasioned great emotion, which, however, had been appeased by the assiduity of the Ministers of Russia and Prussia, who gave the strongest assurances that this event would not in the least affect the pacifick dispositions of their sovereigns.[1] The Imperial Minister has upon this occasion acted a more violent part even than that of France; he has circulated the most malicious insinuations, and omitted no step which could contribute to produce that rupture between the Porte and Czarina, the probability of which the emissaries of the Court of Vienna have so industriously propagated in every part of Europe. A discovery was made of his carrying on a secret correspondence with the Kham; their letters were intercepted, which occasioned the disgrace of that Prince.

M. Stachieff expects to receive his last instructions in a few days, and to set out for Sweden immediately. He dined with me two days ago, and our conversation naturally turned upon the affairs of that country. He agreed with me upon the expediency of marching a body of Russians towards the frontiers at the time the Diet is assembled, as a step which would greatly facilitate measures and lessen the expences. He desired me not to mention what had passed between us, but promised to urge this capital point to M. Panin as strongly as possible. In the present situation it would be improper for me openly to renew any propositions relative to our Treaties, yet I am using every secret means I can employ to have it insinuated to M. Panin how much it would be for his own honour as well as for the advantage of his country to conclude speedily with England, and that his enemys would be the first to censure him for neglecting so essential an object, though they were underhand labouring to prevent it.

M. Panin informed me yesterday in confidence that the Empress, in order to strengthen her own influence in the North and to detach the Court of Denmark from their French connections, was determined to adjust the affairs of Holstein as far as possible to their satisfaction. I asked him if in the Treaty of Allyance with Denmark a war with Turkey was to be made a *casus fœderis*. He

[1] The Russian Envoy, Obreskow, had been directed to represent to the Porte that if that Government opposed Russia in Poland, Russia would have no other part to take but to return to her old union with Austria, which in past times had so often been the source of embarrassment to Turkey. See *Polit. Corresp. Friedrich's des II^ten*, xxiii. 401.

answered that it was a stipulation he would not depart from, as Russia's no longer having the same dependance upon the Court of Vienna made it necessary that the Ministers of her allys should co-operate to baffle the intrigues of the French and Austrians at Constantinople. He dwelt upon the fair prospect which our friends had in Sweden, insinuating that this seemed to be the critical moment for England, if she wished to take the lead in that country.

The Same to Sir Joseph Yorke.

Petersburg: November 27 (N.S.), 1764.

I have not been called to any private conference; the Empress has indeed been pleased for some months past to shew me great distinctions, and to speak to me occasionally with an air of confidence. This circumstance at first sight cannot but be flattering to me; yet it pains me to think that hereafter I may, with some appearance of reason, be censured for not availing myself of the agreeable footing upon which I live in this country for the attainment of those objects my Sovereign has recommended to my care. All open negotiation is at an end, yet I privately take every method in my power to insinuate the utility this country would derive and the honor which would accrue to the Ministers who encouraged and cemented the natural connections between Russia and England. It is my duty to enforce every method, though I labour with little hopes of success so long as we confine ourselves simply to the renewal of the Treaty of Allyance of 1744, a resolution from which it is not for me to decide whether we ought or ought not to depart. It is not without concern that I observe, confirmed by such good authority as yours, my fears that hitherto no foreign arrangement is taken to check the ambitious views of the House of Bourbon. M. Panin told me yesterday that he had the strongest reasons to believe that the terms upon which the Empress Queen accedes to the Family Compact were absolutely settled, if not signed at this moment. Our situation in that case will be still more critical, yet I hope and believe that his Majesty's Ministers will conduct everything for the best. The prospect opens well in Sweden, though at present the concert between us and Russia is not so clearly settled as I could have wished. The general views of this country for forming a great Northern connection would be very meritorious if there existed not a little selfish

œconomy, which I doubt may fatally prevent its being carryed into execution. If no provocation had been given before, this Court would not have easily forgiven the inveteracy with which the emissarys of the House of Austria have acted at Constantinople, nor the assiduity with which they have propagated the insidious reports of the certainty of that rupture they have in vain laboured to excite.

The Same to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: November 27 (N.S.), 1764.

M. Panin mentioned to me that the dispatches with which the Russian courier was charged for M. Gross would enable that gentleman fully to explain the views of her Imperial Majesty and the system she wished to establish, for to preserve the general tranquillity and maintain a proper balance in Europe. He added they were to the same effect with that which in our different conversations he had opened to me. He also strongly expressed the zeal his Sovereign was disposed to exert, if once the necessary measures were concerted, and lamented that nothing was as yet settled between our two Courts. I answered that he could not but be persuaded of my concern's being at least equal to his, and that the fault was not on the side of England. After some pause he seemed preparing to speak with earnestness, and I flattered myself that he would make some new propositions to me, when at once, as waiving his first intention, he turned the conversation and told me he hoped that now I was convinced how little foundation had ever existed for the false and insidious reports which had been so industriously propagated of the Porte's intending to attack this country. He assured me of his never having felt the least anxiety on that head, and of his firm opinion that the Turks had at no time been in a disposition more agreeable to the wishes of Russia than at this juncture, urging that a rupture was much less probable now that the former connection between this Court and the House of Austria no longer existed.

M. Panin seems convinced that the peace between England and the family of Bourbon will scarcely subsist more than two years. . . . Count Orlow is in as great favour as ever. The Empress has lately given him a very fine village in the neighbourhood of Petersburg. The Prussian Minister has for some time been remarkable cool and reserved in his behaviour to me, arising, as I

imagine, from our having occasionally differed in opinion, and perhaps a jealousy of the little distinctions which her Imperial Majesty is pleased to shew me. I have been honoured with your Lordship's most obliging letter of October 30, and imagine Sir George Macartney will be here in about three weeks, which will enable me to leave this country sometime the beginning of January. The weather is mild at present, which I fear will make the roads bad for my successor. The Empress intends going this week to Sarskoe Selo. The Hetman, though his office is abolished, has every reason to be satisfyed with the generosity of his Sovereign. His revenues are rather increased by the favour which has been shewn him.

The Earl of Sandwich to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Whitehall: November 30, 1764.

[*Cypher.*] As Sir John Goodricke is of opinion that in the course of his negotiation with the Court of Sweden there may be a probability of a question of a defensive alliance with that Power, your Lordship will take a proper opportunity of stating to your Court that his Majesty's attention to his antient ally induces him to communicate with them upon so material a point before any instructions are given to Sir John Goodricke upon the subject, and that therefore the King wishes to know their sentiments upon that proposition, particularly whether they intend to instruct their Minister at Stockholm to come into such a proposal, if it should be made to them at the same time that it is offered to his Majesty.

Your Lordship, at the same time that you send me an account of your conversation with the Russian Ministers upon this affair, will likewise communicate it to Sir John Goodricke. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: December 4 (N.S.), 1764.

M. Panin informs me that M. Gross has been directed to enter upon the subject of the Treaty of Allyance with his Majesty's Ministers. The alterations he is to propose in the terms of the old Treaty are that the Russian troops are not to be employed in Spain, though a war with that country is to be considered as a

casus fœderis, and the troops either sent to England for the defence of the country or a stipulated sum paid, and that England is to engage by a most secret article to assist Russia with money in case of a war with the Turks. It is, however, unnecessary for me to trouble your Lordship with particulars which the Russian Minister will, before you receive this, have fully explained to you.

Yesterday the counter project of the Treaty with Denmark was to be delivered to Baron Osten. I have already explained to your Lordship those proposed alterations from the old Treaty which have come to my knowledge. I have little confidential communication with the Danish Minister, as I have no doubt of his having upon some occasion done me ill offices; but I am assured from authority which, in my opinion, is full as good as his, that the Court of Denmark will not readily consent to make a war with Turkey a *casus fœderis*.

The same person assured me that his Danish Majesty is by no means disposed to renew his French connections. M. Panin in all our conversation upon the affairs of Sweden urges the expediency of the Ministers of England and Russia trying separately to make themselves friends, as, from the different interests or prejudices which prevail in that country, each acting for himself may bring over those who would start at a proposition which came from both. He mentioned particularly Mr. Hermanson as a person whom (though at present a violent partisan of the French) he thought it possible and very advisable for England to gain.

The Same to Mr. Titley, at Copenhagen.

Petersburg: December 7, 1764.

I thought it might not be disagreeable to you to be informed that on Monday last the counter project of a Treaty of Alliance with Denmark was delivered by the Russian Ministers to Baron Osten. (This Court are determined to insist upon making a war with Turkey a *casus fœderis*. You will be able to judge how far the disposition of the Empress to comply with the wishes of his Danish Majesty in relation to the affairs of Holstein[1] may induce

[1] In the Treaty between Russia and Denmark, which was concluded March 11 1765, it was stipulated that, in case the Turks attacked the Russians, Denmark should assist Russia either by a fleet or by an annual subsidy. The second article related to Holstein, and in 1767 that matter was provisionally settled

him to enter into that stipulation, which I understand to be the only material alteration from the old Treaty. I am informed Baron Osten has solicited to succeed Count Bothmar in England; his restless, intriguing spirit has made him very disagreeable here. It has been my misfortune to displease him, and I should be greatly concerned to think his Court should have formed their ideas of my character from such representations as he may have made.)

Sir John Goodricke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

December 14, 1764.

I can assure you that hitherto [*Cypher*] the Russian Minister has received no orders at all, but only a word from the Ministry that it was not probable either England or Russia would spend money at the present Diet, and that they had none to bestow upon it. I had last Friday a messenger from London with a credit for 4,000*l.*, but I have not yet received my instructions, in consequence of the answer your Lordship sent from the Court of Petersburg about the Swedish affairs. These unlucky delays, which are not owing to our Court, may be of bad consequence, in case the final resolution as to the whole expence has not been taken at once. We have enough to go as far as the election of the secret committee inclusive, but doubt if our present fund will carry us much farther than that operation, and our party must be supported after it is formed, otherwise what we spend in assembling them is in danger to be thrown away without attaining our ends.[1] The Court party appear now in a good disposition to act in concert with us, and I hope, by the conduct of the Prussian Minister and Count Ostermann, we shall be able to establish the harmony which

(pending the majority of the Grand Duke) by the Empress renouncing, in her son's name, the ducal part of Schleswig and of his part of Holstein in exchange for Oldenburg and Delmenhorst and a large subsidy. See for these treaties Koch, *Histoire des Traités*, xiii. 381 *et seq.*, and *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs : Danemark*, p. lxii.

[1] The Diet was looked upon as of such importance because it was possible by its decree so to modify the Constitution of 1720 that more power might be delegated to the Senate, which, consisting only of sixteen persons, was pensioned by the French Government and completely controlled by them. If, for instance, the right of concluding alliances were ceded to the Senate, France would be mistress of he situation. (See *P.R.O.*, *Sweden*, cxxxi. Despatches of October 22 and 30, 1764.)

is so necessary in opposition with such Powers we have to contend with. What your Lordship is pleased to mention of M. Scheffers being proposed for Marshal of the Diet was much talked of some time ago, but now the French party seem to have resolved to espouse General Fersen, and I flatter myself that our friends will all unite for Colonel Rudbeck, though the others are willing to give us two or three candidates in order to divide us. As to Denmark, I have heard also that France is not pleased with them, and perhaps will be less so, if a marriage should take place between the Prince of Denmark and the Princess Caroline. [*End of Cypher.*]

The Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Earl of Sandwich.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: December 19 (N.S.), 1764.

I was yesterday in the evening with M. Panin, to whom I insinuated the purport of your Lordship's last dispatch. He referred me to M. Gross's instructions, upon which I took notice that possibly a greater latitude might have been given to that Minister than appeared upon the paper communicated to me. He answered in the negative, which led me to urge my opinion that the Court of England would never consent to the stipulation relative to Turkey, which seemed now the principal difficulty that impeded the conclusion of our Treaty of Allyance, an article which I could not but think would also retard the renewal of their connections with Denmark. He replyed that it was a point from which his Sovereign was absolutely determined not to recede, that she would rather submit to remain without any allyance whatsoever, adding that she was resolved to form all her foreign engagements as consistently and as much upon the same plan as possible; and that in case the article in dispute was agreed to he would give a reversal, annulling every stipulation of the Treaty in case any new one was concluded in which a point so essential to the interests and tranquillity of Russia was omitted.

He asked me if I had any authentick account relative to the appearances of an approaching rupture between Spain and Portugal. I answered that I knew nothing upon that head except from the vague surmises which were found in the publick papers. M. Panin afterwards mentioned his persuasion that England must soon renew the war with France, and gave such an exaggerated

account of the present strength of the French and Spanish navys as I am convinced cannot in fact exist. It is an unfortunate circumstance which attends our negotiations with this Court that, whatever may be the disposition of the Sovereign and her Minister, the information they receive from foreign countrys is almost all dictated by a spirit unfavourable to the views and interests of England. The Russians who appear best qualified to be employed abroad have all received their educations in France, where, with the manners and language, they have imbibed a strong partiality to the natives, a circumstance which must ever lay them open to the invidious insinuations of the numerous emissaries of that busy nation.

I am privately assured that this Court have received intimations of Count Bothmar's having attempted to dissuade his Majesty's Ministers from acting in concert with Russia in Sweden. Your Lordship will easily imagine the impression which such an idea must make.

The Same to the Same.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: December 22 (N.S.), 1764.

This Court received two days ago an estafette from M. Gross. According to the best information I can procure, the contents are as follows: He expatiates a good deal upon the affairs of Sweden; the particulars of that part it is unnecessary to mention, as your Lordship must be acquainted with them. He says that he believes England will not press the conclusion of the Treaty of Commerce till Russia is disposed to grant more favourable terms. He further gives it as his opinion that we are rather desirous of settling the Treaty of Allyance, and adds that he hopes to be able before Christmas to send fuller information upon that subject. It has been privately insinuated to me that Prince Repnin will not probably remain long at Warsaw, as the Empress is not greatly satisfyed with his conduct.

The Same to the Same.

[*Most secret.*] Petersburg: December 28 (N.S.), 1764.

I received your Lordship's dispatch of November 20 at Sarskoe Selo, where her Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to permit me to pass two days. I did not return time enough to

have it decyphered, and to acknowledge it by the last post. . . . I am sorry to mention that M. Gross's having acquainted his Court that I had discovered the contents of his letter relative to the French correspondence[1] has given me great uneasiness, upon account of those to whom I am indebted for my most authentick intelligence. M. Panin has used every possible argument to persuade me to own what channel I had it from, as he says, though he had no objection to my being acquainted with the particular fact, he knew no longer how to confide in his own Chancery. It must be unnecessary to mention to your Lordship that he obtained no lights from me.

It may not be improper to assure you that there is not the least danger of the French's receiving any information from the same quarter. Sir George Macartney arrived yesterday with a very bad cold and sore throat, and found me much in the same situation. I hope to be able to set out in about a fortnight.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: January 1 (N.S.), 1765.

I was too much out of order to see M. Panin on Sunday, but was with him yesterday, and desired him to request her Imperial Majesty to fix a day for my audience of leave. In pursuance of your Lordship's dispatch of the 30th past, I took occasion to enter into the affairs of Sweden, and mentioned that, as from the accounts my Court received from thence, there was some reason to suppose that an idea of a defensive Treaty of Allyance with England might be started, the King, my master, desirous in every possible instance to act in confidence and in concert with her Imperial Majesty, had directed me to inform myself of her sentiments upon that head. He seemed at first to understand it as a Treaty of Subsidy, and was preparing civily to decline it, referring himself to M. Gross' instructions relative to such a measure; but upon my telling him that, as well from the general tenor of your Lordship's correspondence as from a letter I some time ago received from Sir John Goodricke, in which he mentions a defensive Treaty in contradistinction to a Treaty of Subsidy, I had no reason to suspect there was an intention of that nature, he took notice that (as your Lordship must know) Russia concluded a Treaty of

[1] See p. 244.

Allyance with Sweden in the last year of the Empress Elizabeth, but added that if England could arrange a defensive Treaty his Sovereign would most cordially accede to it. We deliberated some time whether it might not be sufficient for England to accede to the existing Russian Treaty, but in the end agreed that the other method would be the more eligible. I must observe that he treated this rather as a most desirable than as a probable event, urging how little it could be expected that Sweden should quit her lucrative connections with France without some kind of equivalent.[1]

It is currently reported that Teplow has asked for his demission, and is to retire with a pension, a circumstance which, if verifyed, from my knowledge of that gentleman's principles and politicks, I shall greatly rejoice at.

The Empress returned on Sunday evening from Sarskoe Selo. She is slightly indisposed. Sir George Macartney has not as yet been well enough to go out.

P.S.—M. Stachieff set out about four days ago for Stockholm.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: January 9 (N.S.), 1765.

Friday next is fixed by the Empress for giving me my audience of leave; it has been deferred some days upon account of the indisposition of the Vice-Chancellor, who is still confined. I hope soon after to have my audience of the Great Duke, and to set out for England the middle of next week. M. Teplow only talked of resignation in order to be pressed to remain, and has obtained an additional salary of 4,000 roubles.

I am told that this Government is determined to use every means short of direct violence to obtain the cyphers of Bérenger, the French agent. No pains are spared, though hitherto most ineffectually, to discover my channels of intelligence. Sir George Macartney was yesterday with M. Panin.

[1] The substance of this conversation was sent to Sir John Goodricke on January 15, 1765. The Treaty of Friendship which was concluded in 1766 between England and Sweden was considered by the French Government as a breach of a formal engagement entered into by the Swedes in 1754, by which they undertook not to contract any alliance with another Power except in concert with France or with her knowledge. The French subsidy in consequence was cut off. See *Recueil des Instructions, etc.: Suède*, p. 425.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: January 12 (N.S.), 1765.

Count Orlow, who was always averse to Poniatowski's being elected King of Poland, expresses great dissatisfaction at his conduct in relation to the dissidents. He says he will soon become too powerfull and independent, and that probably, forgetting his obligations to her Imperial Majesty, he may ultimately prove a disagreeable and formidable neighbour to Russia. Upon this occasion indeed his Polish Majesty has laid himself open to some censure in deferring the consideration of that affair till the last day of the Diet. M. Panin informs me that he lately received a letter from Prince Galitzen, at Paris, in which he mentions that the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice had separately been with him, acquainting him in friendship and confidence that the Court of France had received a courier from Constantinople, informing them that the Porte intirely approved of their conduct relative to the election of the King of Poland, and that they were preparing to march 100,000 men into Russia. Those gentlemen added that nearly at the same time a courier had arrived from the Empress Queen, who, having got some intelligence of the intentions of the Grand Seignior, thought it necessary to sollicit his Most Christian Majesty to divert them, not only from her friendship to the Czarina, but as she feared, when once the flames of war were kindled, her own dominions might suffer. Prince Galitzen [1] was the dupe of these assurances, and communicated them seriously to his Court. I can now acquaint your Lordship from good authority that the Duke of Brunswick has a son and three daughters. I hope to be able at my return to England to give a fuller account of that family. I am assured that the French Court in their letters to their Ministers boast of the success of their endeavours in preventing the Spaniards and Austrians from acknowledging the King of Poland, which puts it into their power to make to themselves a merit in being the first of the grand Confederacy to acknowledge him.

If my disorder should not increase I shall leave this place on Friday, and in order to arrive sooner in England I will not pass through Berlin if the roads should admit of my avoiding it.

[1] Dmitri Alexievitch Galitzin, who returned to Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary in 1763.

The Same to the Same.

Petersburg: January 14 (N.S.), 1765.

I had my audience of leave of her Imperial Majesty on Tuesday last. Inclosed are the copys of my speech and her answer. As she had delivered her answer herself at Moscow I was greatly surprized when I found that the Vice-Chancellor spoke for her. This I have since complained of, and M. Panin informs me that though it was her Imperial Majesty's pleasure to answer me herself at Moscow, yet it was contrary to the established etiquette, and that when Count Mercy took his audience of leave the same ceremonial had been observed as now with me. I cannot, however, omit observing that it was a most unfriendly inattention in the Vice-Chancellor not to acquaint me previously with the intended alteration. Her Imperial Majesty was pleased to signify a desire that I would come to Court during the short time I had still to remain here, and I had the honour of supping with her last night at Count Orlow's. A slight indisposition of the Great Duke's prevented me from having my audience till this morning. He is now very well, and answered the compliment I made him from his Majesty with the greatest propriety. I propose leaving Petersburg on Monday, but if the thaw, which has now continued almost a fortnight, should last till that time I hope I may be excused remaining here a few days in hopes of a frost, as the roads are excessively bad, which is evident from the post's coming in later than ever I have known it since my residence in Russia. The affair of the Dissidents in Poland makes great noise. I have had some conversation with M. Panin upon the subject, who says he thinks the Empress's dignity concerned, from the part she has taken in that country, to see their grievances redressed, to which purpose the Russian troops should not be recalled for the present. He added that he hoped the Court of England would unite their endeavours with those of her Imperial Majesty, and expressed a desire that instructions might be sent to Sir George Macartney, enabling him to sign such declarations as it may hereafter be necessary to publish in concert with the Russian Ministry.

M. Panin informs me that by the last accounts from Sweden there was reason to doubt of the sincerity and good intentions of her Swedish Majesty and Colonel Sinclair, and that instructions

have been sent to Count Ostermann not to advance any more money to the latter.

I have been assured that it is the intention of this Court to expend a further sum of at least 50,000 roubles in Sweden if there should be a prospect of carrying any capital points.

The Empress and M. Panin have taken occasion to mention to me their desire to cement the connections of the two countrys.[1]

Her Imperial Majesty desired me last night at my return to England to send her portraits of their Britannick Majestys. I told her that I had a very good picture of the King my master, which I flattered myself she would accept of, and that I hoped soon to be able to procure one of the Queen.

From 'Russian Memoranda.'

To assert that some time ago I should have thought it an easy task to draw a full and just character of the Empress, and that now, having frequent opportunities of seeing her in the hours of dissipation when the veil of restraint and ceremony was thrown off, the undertaking puzzles and embarrasses me, has something the air of a paradox, which, however, is easily solved by mentioning that then I knew only the great outlines and was unacquainted with the little weaknesses and inconsistencies which almost efface some and shade many of those eminent qualities which adorn her. It is impossible to consider the general tenour of her conduct, since she placed herself upon the throne, without tracing evident marks of a laudable ambition to distinguish herself; to make her subjects happy at home and respectable abroad; to encourage arts, sciences, and commerce; to form by a liberal education the young nobility of both sexes; to extend in a great

[1] A Treaty of Commerce between England and Russia was finally signed by Sir George Macartney, August 29, 1766, the Russian signatories being Panin, Ernest Comte de Münnich, the Prince Galitzin, and Teplow. It contained no political clauses, and speaks merely of a 'close friendship' between the two countries. By the 14th Article British subjects were permitted to trade in every town in Russia, excepting those 'qui ont des droits de bourgeoisie particuliers et des privilèges à ce contraires.' By the 4th Article productions of Asiatic provinces might also be among their articles of trade, and for the future English cloth for soldiers was only to pay a duty of 2 copecks per rix-dollar. So too for wide and narrow flannel and York cloth.

degree the same advantages to inferior ranks; to improve the public revenue without oppressing individuals; to check the tyranny with which the clergy distressed their vassals; and to introduce that ease of society, that urbanity and general good breeding which prevail in other European nations; in a word, to transmit her name with glory to posterity, and by the use she makes of empire to palliate the means by which she has acquired it.

In the course of two years, though hourly alarmed by the attempts of her enemies, she has exerted her good offices for the general pacification of Europe; she has given a King to Poland, established a sovereign in Courland, and greatly contributed to the overturning of the so long prevailing French system in Sweden. These are facts of which it is as unnecessary to labour the proof as it would be vain to contest the reality, and surely it is greatly to be lamented that vanity, self-sufficiency, avarice, and a taste for trifling pleasures should cloud so bright a future?

The expenses of the Court are in some instances retrenched to a degree of meanness, and many persons of the first rank seize officiously the first pretence to retire from Petersburg, as, receiving no longer the same presents from the Sovereign, they cannot afford to pay the daily-increasing price of every article of consumption.

Political intrigue and fruitful imaginations have variously accounted for her most imprudent journey to Riga; in fact, it was determined by the desire of a little mind to make a naval parade, to enjoy the pageantry and adulations with which the provinces received her, and to see a sovereign of her own creating at her feet. Deaf to the friendly advice which combated her inclination, she was obstinate to prove her steadiness.

Her face and figure are greatly altered for the worse since her accession. It is easy to discover the remains of a fine woman, but she is now no longer an object of desire. The many who wish to arraign the conduct and vilify the character of this Princess tax her with the same disposition to debauchery as sullied the reign of her predecessor. This makes it necessary to say something on the subject, and succinctly state such information as upon the strictest inquiry I have obtained, which when candidly considered may palliate though not justify her conduct. She had been married

some years to the Grand Duke without being with child, and, as this was supposed to arise from the inability of her husband, distant hints were thrown out by the Empress, which were not taken. At last she sent her confidante, Madame Shouvalow, to inform the Grand Duchess that if she did not soon contrive to produce an heir to the Empire she must expect to be divorced. After some hesitation she yielded. One Soltikow (now abroad) was the man pitched upon, and he is said to be the father of the present Grand Duke. The first scruples being got over, the rest followed but too naturally. Soltikow having left the country, the solitude in which she generally lived made every possible amusement necessary, and General Chernichow [1] and, soon after, Poniatowski enjoyed her favour. Orlow was one of the young people who entered early into the conspiracy to place her upon the throne. She saw him frequently; the beauty of his person, and his particular affection for her, of which she has since declared she had long been sensible, induced her to yield. Her being with child at the time of the Revolution was a circumstance which, as her husband never approached her, made it necessary to hasten that event. She was brought to bed of a son at Moscow some months after. The child is under the care of Schurin at Petersburg, where her Imperial Majesty has sometimes visited him.

It is a far more pleasing as well as a more easy task to wipe off the calumny which intrigue and malice have universally propagated in relation to the death of Prince Ivan than that which was imputed to her—her husband's murder; and therefore, taking it for granted that nobody will dispute the Empress having at least common sense, I will beg leave to make the following queries: Would the officers who, when pushed to it, put the Prince to death, have disputed murdering him privately if ordered? Would the Empress have contrived that such an event would happen when she was at such a distance from the capital, particularly as she knew the guards had lately been very uneasy? Would Mirowitz have had a most public trial, and permission been given to almost everybody that pleased to question him? Would he have been led so openly to execution that he could point out and call his acquaintances by their names, and the scaffold been accessible to all?

Though I daily saw many as well foreigners as Russians, who

[1] See p. 160.

in other instances expressed themselves with great freedom and even inveteracy upon the conduct of the Sovereign, I never met with any person except the emissaries of Courts inimical to the Empress who hinted a doubt that there was the least collusion in the catastrophe at Schlüsselburg, and I am persuaded that the present Sovereign neither was, nor is, either afraid of the family of Brunswick or in any danger from them.

Her son, if he lives, will be her fate. When I have seen them together I have frequently observed the changes of his countenance. If her looks were directed towards him, he immediately put on that air of deference and respect due from a child to a parent, from a subject to his Prince. But if her attention was otherwise engaged, he would sometimes eye her with the apparent resentment of a son whose father she had dethroned, and whose birthright she had usurped. A line of Virgil has occurred to me, which has sometimes been properly applied :—

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

When the Grand Duke passes through the streets he is more followed than the Empress, and in the insurrection two years ago, which the ringleaders had encouraged simply with a view of removing the Orlows, the soldiers called out for the Grand Duke.

Characters from 'Russian Memoranda.'

The laughers of the Court have named Ghetagin 'le Comte de la Tuffière.' With something of that character, he has more parts and application than knowledge. The Empress prefers his style as more perspicuous and elegant than that of her other secretaries. If his influence was sufficient to make it worth while to tempt him, he has too little principle to be unmindful of his own interest. This gentleman has conceived a platonick passion for a dancer who, like many other of the theatrical ladies, has commenced prude in Russia after having indulged herself in every other Court in Europe. At her instigation he protected a person in the refusal of discharging a just debt, which, being explained to the Empress, procured him a great deal of ridicule and some reproof.

Passick is the officer who was arrested the day before the Revolution. Peter III. is generally blamed for not examining him immediately. The real fact is, that the officer despatched

with the news of his being arrested neglected taking fresh horses upon the road, which occasioned his arriving so late at Oranienbaum as indispensably obliged the unfortunate Emperor to put off the examination till it was too late. Passick was a great friend of the Orlows, and in some respects of the same character; but, with an equal degree of resolution and information, he is more reserved, more artful, and more designing. Though raised to the rank of Chambellan, much higher than at his age he would have expected, and in appearance attached to the favourite, it has ever seemed evident to me that he saw with dissatisfaction men if anything his inferiors, and with no apparent merit but being engaged in the same cause, raised so greatly above him. I lived a great deal with him; he said I was the only foreigner he ever liked, and called himself my friend. Perhaps he was so; of this I am most sure, that either as the sovereign or as an individual in Russia I should esteem him a most formidable enemy.

General Galitzin has a very good plain understanding, but rather affects to conceal it. He is reserved, with good humour, and by a decent, respectful behaviour to the Empress veils the little petulant sallies which the vivacity of his wife and the disappointed ambition of his sister-in-law too frequently throw out. Countess Matuschin is his wife's sister; she succeeded the Princess Dashkow in the Empress's favour, which she lost in about eight months by being too busy, and was politely dismissed when the Court returned to Petersburg. General Galitzin is that sort of prudent man who will neither desire nor obtain the first situation, but who, whatever change may happen, is tolerably sure of maintaining a good one.

Betzkoi, Intendant des Bâtiments, has for the last twelvemonth insensibly crept into the Empress's favour. He is a sort of French scholar, not absolutely without talents, and possesses in a high degree the most essential quality of a good courtier, that of frequently making himself necessary. He is an upholsterer, an architect, and a gardener (a politician, too, when he dares). He will regulate an hospital, an academy, or a convent for the education of young ladies; he will cut an entresol into twenty boudoirs for as many Maids of Honour, and at a short warning raise a garden upon a level with an apartment forty feet from the ground. Though he is a particular favourer of the French and Austrians, an Englishman must allow that with some ingenuity

he has a great share of good breeding and a meritorious sensibility for the distresses of his fellow-creatures.

General Villebois, a great partisan of the House of Austria, has the reputation of a good officer; he commands the corps of artillery, and the discipline and appearance of the men do justice to his unwearied pains to form them.

From the Earl of Buckinghamshire to —— [*?*][1]

Je n'ai rien d'intéressant à vous dire. La tête tourne aux pauvres citoyens de Dantzic; ils craignent de tous côtés—le Russe, le Prussien, et le Polonois; je soupçonne, à la vérité, que comme la confirmation de leurs privilèges tarde si longtems ce dernier pourra avoir quelque idée de les déplumer. Il est dit aussi qu'on tient un langage assez extraordinaire au député qu'ils ont envoyé à Varsovie. J'ai vu quelquesuns de ces pauvres dissidents, dont les affaires ont été ruinées par la complaisance et la nonchalance des Ministres de ces Cours qui s'intéressaient sincèrement pour les protéger. Selon les apparences et les déclarations formelles, ces cours veulent absolument insister que la justice soit rendue à ces honnêtes gens; cependant il est toujours plus facile de prévenir un mal que d'y remédier. A Berlin on est disposé, contre nos idées, de donner tout le tort de cette négotiation manquée à l'ambassadeur mort, et d'en disculper le vivant—je n'en crois rien, mais je suis sûr que ce dernier a bien su faire sa cour à Potzdam.

Ce n'est pas seulement la ville de Dantzic, mais la Prusse Polonoise a aussi ses inquiétudes; déjà vous saurez tout cela—pourquoi vous en parler?

Le sort n'a pas voulu me laisser voir ni le Butor[2] ni le Nouveau Venu ni le Désolateur; à l'égard du dernier, j'en ai probablement l'obligation au Polisson, qui n'a jamais voulu m'aimer, apparemment

[1] A draught letter, undated.

[2] Lord Buckinghamshire here uses the names which were used in cypher for the various public personages, viz.:—

Le Butor = The Great Chancellor, Woronzow.

Le Nouveau Venu = The Marquis de Bausset, Ambassador from France to Russia.

Le Polisson = Solms.

Le Désolateur = The King of Prussia.

parce que je ne lui ressemble pas, aussi ce serait trop cher d'acheter son amitié à ce prix.

J'ai voyagé en général assez vite; la neige m'a arrêté à Dantzic, et on m'a dit que pour trouver des chevaux il fallait passer par Berlin, ce que j'aurais plutôt voulu éviter, comme je savais que le Roi n'y était pas. J'ai fait un échange de visites avec M. Finckenstein, qui m'a aussi prié dîner. J'ai témoigné à ce Ministre combien je regrettais que l'absence de sa Majesté m'empêchait de profiter de cette occasion de lui faire ma cour; il m'assura qu'il en ferait part au Roi. Il ne convenait pas de demander formellement de le voir à Potzdam, n'ayant aucunes instructions de mon maître là-dessus. Quelquesunes de mes anciennes connaissances étaient d'opinion qu'il m'y ferait venir; elles se sont trompées, et je n'en ai été ni surpris ni mortifié.

J'ai été chez la Reine, les Princesses et le Prince Ferdinand. Le Prince Henri, à ce qu'on m'a assuré, souhaitait fortement de me voir, mais il était incommodé au point de garder le lit. Le Prince de Courlande se trouve à Berlin; le public veut qu'il doit se marier avec la fille cadette du Margrave Henri. Elle me paraît belle et fort aimable; elle n'a que quinze ans, ce qui fera une différence de trente ans entre elle et son prétendu. Ce prétendu a l'intention de passer incessament en Angleterre. J'ai reçu un accueuil des plus flatteurs de la Cour vraiment aimable de Brunswick, et je n'ai pas laissé échapper l'occasion de parler de vous de la façon que vous le méritez au duc.

Peut-être trouverai-je une lettre de votre part à la Haye; il n'y a rien de plus sûr qu'il ne dépend que de vous que notre correspondance soit dorénavant des plus régulières.

The Same to M. Panin.

De la Haye, du 19me de mars, 1765.

Monsieur,

C'est avec empressement que je saisis l'occasion du départ d'un courrier anglais pour renouveller à V. E. les assurances du souvenir que je chérirai toujours des marques flatteuses que j'ai reçues de sa confiance et de son amitié.

Je pars d'ici avec le premier vaisseau, et à mon arrivée je ne manquerai pas d'exposer convenablement au Roi mon maître tout ce qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de me dire. Ce ne peut être qu'avec

un plaisir sensible que je me rappelle que dans toutes les conversations que j'ai eues avec V. E., tant sur le système général de l'Europe que sur les liaisons qui vous intéressaient de plus près, les différences d'opinion n'ont jamais été essentielles, comme sur le fond nous sommes toujours convenus. Je veux espérer que ces sentiments se conserveront de part et d'autre, et que pour le bonheur des bien-intentionnés elle voudra bien continuer dans une situation si fatigante, il est vrai, mais en même temps si honorable pour elle et si utile à sa patrie, qui le mette au même de pouvoir les porter en avant. Je me suis arrêté quelques jours à Berlin et à Brunswick, où mon inclination naturelle, mon amour pour la vérité, et cette réconaissance qui m'en fait un devoir m'ont également animé à rendre justice à une Cour où on a daigné m'honorer de distinctions si particulières.

M. Panin to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

St. Petersbourg, du 18me d'avril, 1765.

Le courrier anglais m'a apporté la lettre dont votre Excellence l'a chargé à son passage par la Haye. J'y ai appris avec beaucoup de satisfaction, Monsieur, que vous avez fait heureusement la route jusqu'en Hollande, d'où il ne vous reste plus qu'un court trajet pour être rendu dans votre patrie. Le souvenir dont votre Excellence a la bonté de m'assurer me flatte infiniment. Je la prie de croire que de mon côté je me rappellerai toujours avec un vif plaisir l'agrément que j'ai eu de traiter avec un Ministre aussi bien intentionné et aussi éclairé sur les intérêts communs des deux nations. Leur union est trop naturelle pour qu'on n'ait pas un empressement mutuel à la consolider. Vous avez connu par vous-même, Monsieur, nos sentiments sur cet objet, et votre Excellence ne peut pas qu'en faire un rapport agréable à sa Cour.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

Archibald Gibsone to the Same.

Dantzig: May 1, 1765.

I was very glad to see from the 'Gazette' your Lordship's safe arrival at London, where I wish your Lordship all health and wellfare.

I remember your Lordship ordered me to send you some Tokai and Ratafia—if I recollect right, an anthal of such wine as your Lordship drank in my house, and one or two (I don't now know which), cases, I have forgot likewise the number of bottles, of Ratafia; I desire, therefore, your Lordship to let me know it by a few lines, and of any other thing in this place which your Lordship desires to have, and all shall be sent directly. At the instance of General Goltz, who begs to assure your Lordship of his respects, I do myself the honour to send here inclosed a letter for M. Charles Godfried Woide, a Reformed minister in Great Poland, whom the Protestants of the Republick have sent privately to England, there to solicite the interests of their religion; therefore the letters to him go under my cover to your Lordship, and his answers will come under cover to me, that nothing of this matter may transpire until it be brought to perfection. I beg, therefore, your Lordship may be pleased to give him this letter when he calls for it, and, failing of your Lordship's writing yourself, that orders be given that his answers be sent by the ordinary post to my address, the correspondance being regulated in this manner; for the distresses of the Protestants in Poland demand all our care and attention. The duty laid by the Diet of Convocation on the Province of Polish Prussia, notwithstanding all the remonstrances that have been made of its being contrary to the treaties whereby this province acceded to Poland, seems now to take a serious aspect. A Mémoire from the Prussian Resident at Warsaw about it, having occasioned an answer somewhat too inconsiderate from that Ministry, and about the same time, a duty of about a ducat each horse having been exacted for some horses passing through that territory and belonging to his Prussian Majesty—a thing quite new—has induced that prince to erect a Custom-house at Marienwerder, on the Vistula, supported by a battery of ten cannons and some troops, and to lay on a duty of 10 per cent. value on all trade passing and repassing between this town and Poland, which duty alone will be very considerable, and amount to many millions yearly. The method of putting it in execution is short and quite military: all vessells and floats of plank, timber, staves, &c., passing up or down, are ordered to stop, and are searched, and the skipper to declare on oath besides the contents of all he has on board, which are

taxed, and unless the skipper has money to pay, which seldom happens, one-tenth part of each, whatever quality it may happen to be, is taken, and largely without further process. Therefore people here find it better to give up the value of their wines, groceries, &c., and to send the 10 per cent. value thereof in money. And the Russian Resident, having wines, groceries, &c., to send Prince Repnin, the skipper refused to take them till the Resident declared to him on honour the value, being 500 ducats, and till he gave him the 50 ducats to pay the Customs. A vessell endeavouring to pass, under full sail with the stream, was directly fired at and a man killed. And it's published that such vessells as steal past in the night shall pay double on their return. But all vessells that unload at Marienwerder or in the King's dominions, these are free.

The consternation this novelty makes here is not to be easily expressed. Our burghers buy here, or order from abroad, large quantities of wines, groceries, spiceries, and all sorts of goods, conform to the orders they have received from the Poles; they get them packed up and ready to deliver into the Polish vessels on their arrival, when they receive the immediate payment, and are thereby enabled to pay their creditors. But now this duty of 10 per cent. being laid on, the Poles, refusing to pay, won't receive the goods bespoke, or if received already, as is the case with many, give them back again instead of payment, and the burgher, to keep his credit, must throw himself at the mercy of his creditor or become bankrupt; so that this affair, if it should continue long, will create great confusion and mischief in this place, and do great harm to the trade of Great Britain, now pretty considerable here, and consequently to all his Majesty's subjects trading hither, which may perhaps be thought worth some attention when this matter becomes entirely settled. We of the factory here will have some proposals to make to the Board of Trade, how the British commerce may be helped and extended in this place and neighbourhood, and this would have been done already in case we had been regularly summoned, as ought to have been done by Mr. Corry, whose lame representations sent in lately will, I apprehend, meet little notice. I make no doubt of your Lordship's communicating this event where needfull.

The Same to the Same.

Dantzig: May 18, 1765.

. . . . The Custom House erected at Marienwerder, on the Vistula, supported by a small fort and some troops, which exacts a duty of about 10 per cent. on the whole trade passing up and down, nettles the Poles prodigiously. His Prussian Majesty, having tasted the sweets of it, will, I apprehend, never more give it up entirely, though he may reduce it to 2 or 3 per cent.; and if he pleased this might be a good opportunity to force the Poles to revoke the Acts of a duty in Prussia, and of the infringing of the Protestants' rights made in the Diet of Convocation, whereby the province and the Protestants over all Poland and Lithuania might be restored to all their ancient rights and privileges.

Extracts from an Account by the Earl of Buckinghamshire sent to the Countess of Suffolk.

Pour se former une idée juste de la Russie, il faut en premier lieu établir que tout ce qu'on voit est de la création de Pierre le Grand. Les Russiens eux-mêmes portent à peine leurs recherches plus haut que les commencements de son règne et parlent du dix-septième siècle comme nous raisonnons des gestes du Roi Alfred.

Selon la constitution présente de cette vaste empire, elle ne pourra jamais être formidable que pour le moment, comme deux ou trois campagnes dans les pays étrangers épuiseront nécessairement ses ressources. Les arts, les sciences, les manufactures, tout ce qui fait les richesses d'un pays ne se perfectionneront jamais chez une nation d'esclaves. La Liberté est la nourrice de l'Industrie; c'est elle qui donne l'essor à l'invention humaine et qui fortifie le bras de l'artisan. Il ne travaille que moitié qui ne travaille pas pour soi.

Si pourtant un souverain osait renverser les coutumes établies et contrecarrer les préjugés de ses sujets, s'il pouvait persuader ou forcer les grands seigneurs de se prêter à ses vues, de souffrir une diminution momentanée de leurs revenus sous les assurances certaines d'un gain considérable à l'avenir, et d'acheter leur propre liberté au prix d'avoir des vassaux heureux et opulents au lieu d'esclaves rampants et misérables, ces apparences

formidables, qui ne le sont que pour ceux qui connaissent seulement l'extérieur du pays, se trouveraient bientôt réalisés.

J'avoue que l'entreprise serait des plus périlleuses, mais ne serait-il pas glorieux même de succomber en travaillant au bonheur de vingt millions de vos semblables? La grande difficulté proviendrait de ce que, malheureusement, le Russe, accoutumé à des révolutions fréquentes, se hâte à jouir du moment et n'ose à peine envisager le lendemain.

Les forces maritimes et tout ce qui rapporte à la navigation ne pourraient jamais se porter au-delà d'un certain point, comme la situation du pays, le climat et le génie de la nation ne s'y prêtent pas; mais pour ce qui regarde les arts et les manufactures, mettez le Russe dans le bon chemin, il est capable de tout.

En commençant ces feuilles, je n'avais pas l'idée de vous parler de manufacture ou de navigation; il faut les laisser de passer à des bagatelles qui intéressent moins et qui amusent plus.

L'étranger s'introduit assez difficilement ici dans la société, mais pour peu que j'en puis juger, ils exercent beaucoup d'hospitalité entre eux. Il y a toujours une profusion de mets assez mal apprêtés, et tous ceux qui se présentent sont les bien-venus.

Toute la jeunesse parle Français; c'est un point d'éducation qu'on n'a garde de négliger, et à cet effet, il n'y a aucune maison presque parmi la noblesse où on ne voit un Français, qui, ayant fait son début sous le caractère de valet de chambre, confiturier, friseur, charlatan ou marmiton, se trouve tout d'un coup précepteur et homme respectable; il dîne avec le maître de la maison, ami et confident du jeune seigneur, et trop souvent l'amant de la demoiselle. Un mot ici de serieux par manière d'observation. Quelle supériorité décidée cette circonstance seule doit donner à la nation française! Toute la noblesse reçoit dès sa plus tendre jeunesse les impressions les plus favorables du pays natal d'un instructeur qui, n'ayant pour tout sçavoir que les préjugés les plus frondés, les fait devenir plus fous de la France que le Français même. Le Ministre de cette cour a aussi nécessairement un espion dans l'intérieur de chaque maison, qui lui donne à tout moment une relation détaillée de tout ce qui s'y passe.

Les hommes sont réservés avec les étrangers; il me semble que cela provient de ce que, doutants de leur propre lumière, ils leur adjugent une infériorité que souvent ne leur est pas due, et craignent de s'engager dans une conversation suivie de peur de

se compromettre. Ils sont en général beaux et bien-faits et se présentent bien.

La Nature a prodigué ses trésors aux femmes Russiennes ; elle les a douées de beauté, de sensibilité, de vivacité, des dispositions les plus heureuses à tout apprendre. Cependant, de toutes les femmes Européennes elles sont les plus subjugées. On les néglige, on les boude ; au cercle à la Cour elles se tiennent toujours en arrière et les cavaliers leur tournent le dos sans scrupule. Peut-être cela vient-il de quelques préjugés qu'ils tiennent de leurs voisins orientaux, peut-être de ce que l'empire de la Russie a été si longtemps en quenouille et que dans un règne passé [1] c'était un péché capital d'être plus belle que la souveraine ; pour peu qu'on avait le malheur d'être jolie, force palatines, coiffées avancées, s'efforçaient de le cacher ; c'est environ dix ans que l'Impératrice d'alors obligea toutes les femmes de se couper les cheveux. Elle avait de la religion, elle était même dévote, mais son penchant pour le plaisir, ses passions effrénées renversaient toutes ses scrupules ; ne pouvant jamais prévenir sa propre licence, elle ne pardonnait jamais celle des autres, se flattant que d'empêcher des faiblesses d'être contagieuses était en quelque sorte les réparer.

Après ce badinage, je manquerais à ce qui est due à la mémoire de cette Princesse si je n'ajoutais qu'elle est morte aimée, respectée, adorée même de ses sujets, et que les honnêtes hommes et les plus dignes femmes de la Russie n'en parlent encore que les larmes aux yeux. Si Pierre Trois eut vécu plus longtemps il aurait fait place pour les cotillons.

La belle qui veut plaire, ne peut pas mettre trop de rouge. Quand le Russe dit *Crasna Dievitza* (' Fille écarlate ') il veut dire ' belle fille.' Quoique je suis accoutumé de me promener par les rues de Londres, j'ai été étonné de la quantité de jolies figures qu'on rencontre dans celles de Moscou. En général, cela s'épanouit à treize ans, est mûre à quinze, et commence trop souvent à se flétrir à vingt. Ce que je viens de dire vous surprendra, comme on ne pense jamais de la Russie sans y attacher l'idée de glaçons et de frimas, mais les pelisses et la chaleur extraordinaire des poêles produisent les mêmes effets à Moscou que le soleil à Madrid.

Quand un cavalier s'approche d'une dame de sa connaissance

[1] That of Elizabeth.

il lui prend la main dans l'action de l'approcher de sa bouche ; la dame le prévient en lui présentant la bouche et le baisant avec une cordialité honnête ; pour peu qu'on y prend plaisir, on peut répéter cette cérémonie plusieurs fois de la journée. Quelques-unes de ces dames se sont avisées très mal à-propos de retrancher de cette politesse envers l'étranger qui s'en trouve mal.

On soupçonne le sexe ici de peu de délicatesse, de ne se connaître guère dans les raffinements de la galanterie, d'avoir des préférences du moment, mais d'être incapable d'attachement, oubliant même le matin celui qui était favorisé la veille. Cela n'est pas vrai ; on trouve des sentiments en Russie, peut-être sont-ils un peu clair-semés. Je connais une dame, la plus aimable du pays, dont il y a dix jours que l'amant est parti pour ne se retourner de longtemps, pourtant elle n'est pas encore consolée.

Les nains, les bouffons, le jeu, la table (où elles s'amusent volontiers) font l'occupation de celles qui ne peuvent pas ou ne veulent pas être galantes. Elles sont toutes dévotes. Si elles passent un enfilade de vingt chambres elles font un signe de croix en entrant dans chaque pièce, où il y a toujours un saint dans le coin, quoique le diable préside sur tout l'appartement.

Force prières et signes de croix, beaucoup de superstition et une observation scrupuleuse de trois ou quatre carêmes fait l'essentiel de la religion grecque ; la morale, les devoirs de l'humanité y entrent pour peu de chose. Il y a quelque temps qu'un scélérat qu'on conduisait à la fourche s'était avoué coupable d'une vingtaine de meurtres des plus affreux ; le prêtre lui demandant s'il avait observé le carême, il répondit avec une espèce d'indignation, 'Croyez-vous que je ne suis pas chrétien ?'

La ville de Moscou est très-vaste. C'est un amas de villages et de maisons seigneuriales ; on n'y trouve presque que des palais ou des viles chaumières. Plusieurs de ses palais ne sont que des décombres ; on bâtit avec magnificence, mais toujours à la hâte et avec tant de négligence que quelquefois les fondements s'écroulent avant que le toit est fini. Quand le bâtiment est perfectionné c'est à la Providence de le conserver ; on finit rarement, on ne répare jamais.

Un mot du militaire, qui ne laisse pas de faire sa figure ici. On ne connaît aucun rang que ceux des grades militaires. Quand on veut mettre un médecin sur un bon pied, on lui donne le rang de colonel. Les généraux n'ont point de régiments ; ils sont tous

commandés par leurs colonels. Un régiment de cavalerie vaut à peu près autant qu'une compagnie des Gardes anglaises. Les officiers subalternes sont payés à proportion.

Les chevaux de la cavalerie sont très-médiocres, mais les hommes, aussi bien que de l'infanterie, sont beaux, robustes, et ont l'air soldat. À l'égard des Gardes, comme vous êtes au fait de l'histoire Romaine, il suffira de vous dire que ce sont précisément les bandes Prétoriens.

Ce serait une omission essentielle si après la description que je vous ai donnée de la nation Russe je finissais sans vous la montrer au lit. Le maître et la maîtresse couchent ordinairement dans une grande alcôve; deux nains pour le moins, aussi vilains que crottés, partagent leur lit. Trois ou quatre vieilles femmes se placent sur des matelats autour; une desquelles, aussitôt que Monsieur et Madame se sont couchés, commence une Histoire de Coq à l'Âne; d'abord qu'elle est fatiguée une autre la relève, et cela dure sans intermission jusqu'au jour.

Sir Joseph Yorke to the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Hague: April 11, 1766.

. . . . I don't wonder your Lordship is unwilling to enter into any detail of the present situation, there are many things as difficult as they are disagreeable to attempt to explain; but it would give me great pleasure if I heard they were settled in a manner which would satisfy one who, without flattery, thinks as well and as disinterestedly as your Lordship. I had been in hopes to have seen you in some employment of business, and you must forgive me if I still continue to wish it. Other countries partake of popular discontent. In France, besides the affair of the Parliaments, which still rankles in the provinces, there have been dangerous seditions at Bourdeaux and Toulouse about drawing of the Militia according to the new regulation. But all this does not come up to the scene at Madrid, where the populace have forced and have obliged the King in person to promise to satisfy and redress their grievances, and to dismiss his favourite Minister, M. Squillaci, who was actually set out for Italy when the last letters came away. These riots happened on the 23rd and 24th of last month.

For want of better materials I conclude with the placet of the manufacturers of Lyons to H.M.C.M. :—

Six mois en noir pour le Dauphin !
Six ans, si ce long deuil peut lui rendre la vie !
Mais l'habit ni les pleurs ne changent le destin.
Parce qu'il meurt de maladie
Faut-il que nous mourrions de faim ?
Vous êtes avant tout Père de la patrie,
Sire ! . . . du travail ou du pain.

Thus you will see that the spirit of independance has gone forth into the world, and will probably, before it stops, be productive of more events. They will not, however, I imagine, alter right and wrong, nor make an honest man a knave, no more than they can prevent me from thinking about your Lordship with the highest esteem, and assuring you of that respect and affection with which I shall ever remain,

Your Lordship's most faithfull, obliged, humble servant,

JOSEPH YORKE.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

NOTE A.

Article Secret Premier [of the Projected Treaty between England and Russia (1763)].

Comme les intérêts mutuels des deux hautes parties contractantes demandent indispensablement qu'elles prennent à tems et de concert leurs mesures en cas de vacance du Trône de Pologne, quoique Sa Majesté Impériale de toutes les Russies s'en soit déjà expliquée avec une ouverture amicale à Sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne par son Ministre à la Cour Britannique, et que Sa Majesté le Roi ait en conséquence ordonné à son Résident à Varsovie d'agir rélativement à cette affaire d'un commun accord avec le Ministre de Sa Majesté Impériale, néanmoins les deux hautes parties contractantes sont encore convenues par le présent Article secret qu'en cas de décès du Roi de Pologne actuellement régnant, elles s'employeront à élever sur le Trône de Pologne un candidat qui ne soit point contraire mais bien plutôt favorable à leurs intérêts mutuels, et à cet effet Sa Majesté Britannique s'engage et promet de pourvoir son Ministre en Pologne d'instructions suffisantes pour que dans le cas de vacance effective du Trône de Pologne il se conduise en tout d'un commun accord avec le Ministre de Sa Majesté Impériale, et fasse tous ses efforts pour élever sur le Trône de Pologne telle personne dont les deux Cours seront convenues entre elles. Et comme on ne pourra pas se passer alors de faire des dépenses, Sa Majesté Britannique promet de tenir toujours prête en Pologne une somme considérable d'argent et de l'employer, le cas arrivant, pour attendre le but commun comme aussi Sa Majesté Impériale de toutes le Russies ne manquera pas d'en faire autant de son côté ; mais si lors de l'élection d'un Roi de Pologne les affaires vinssent en Pologne à une telle extrémité que Sa Majesté Impériale de toutes les Russies, comme plus voisine, fut obligée d'appuyer de ses armes les

vues des deux hautes parties contractantes, dans un tel cas S.M. le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne promet de son côté de fournir un secours en argent pour les frais de la guerre et d'envoyer à S.M.I. de toutes les Russies, aussitôt que les troupes russiennes seront entrées en Pologne, une somme de cinq cents mille roubles. En retour de quoi S.M.I. promet d'agir en tout de concert avec S.M.B. et de montrer toute la condescendance possible à ses vues en tant que cela ne seroit pas préjudiciable aux intérêts propres de S.M.I.

Comme il peut arriver que quelque Puissance étrangère, en haine de l'introduction des troupes russiennes en Pologne, pourrait avoir des intentions hostiles contre l'Empire de Russie, et peut-être même commettre des hostilités contre S.M.I., dans un tel cas sa Majesté Britannique promet et s'engage d'employer tous les moyens et représentations aimables pour en arrêter l'effet, et s'ils n'avoient point le succès désiré, de fournir alors à S.M.I. de toutes les Russies le secours stipulé dans le traité principal d'alliance défensive.

Article Secret Second.

Comme il est indispensablement de l'intérêt mutuel des deux hautes parties contractantes d'employer leurs soins au maintien de la paix et tranquillité dans le nord, afin que leurs sujets respectifs ne soyent en quoi que ce soit empêchés dans leur commerce, et comme l'expérience de beaucoup d'années a fait voir que quelques autres Puissances s'attachent à entretenir en Suède un parti qui inspire continuellement à cette nation l'envie et le désir de troubler le nord et employent divers moyens à cette fin, c'est pourquoi Sa Majesté de toutes les Russies et Sa Majesté Britannique, pour obvier à ces efforts nuisibles à leurs sujets respectifs, lesquels sont employés par d'autres Puissances, sont convenues et s'engagent par le présent Article secret de pourvoir leurs Ministres à la Cour de Suède d'instructions suffisantes, afin qu'ils fassent cause commune tant pour abaisser le dit parti entretenu par d'autres Puissances que pour maintenir l'équilibre entre le dit parti et celui qui lui est opposé, afin que le premier ne puisse pas l'emporter sur le second et venir à bout de ses desseins, lesquels tendent à causer du préjudice aux sujets des deux hautes parties contractantes.

NOTE B.

Extract from an Ukaz Concerning the Russian Clergy.[1]

(March 11, 1765.)

1. That according to the Register of the College, from the last revisal, the number of boors belonging to bishoprics, convents, and monasteries amounted to 910,866 ; that the administration of so considerable estates proved very often, from the removal of the prelates, a great burthen to the bishoprics and convents ; and frequently, from the dishonesty of their servants and their ignorance and inexperience in husbandry, was the ruin of the boors, and, of course, threw everything into the utmost confusion ; and that the division of the estates in several bishoprics, &c., and in particular amongst the several priests, was so unequal that some had very little, and others no income at all. We have therefore thought proper and necessary to erect a College of Œconomy, to have the sole inspection and administration of all the Church estates. In consequence of this new regulation, and that it may be the less burthensome to the boors, instead of villenage and tithes each boor shall for the future pay a capitation of 1½ rouble per annum. And we have ordered that the College shall collect the said capitation from January 1, 1764 [O.S.].

2. That all bishoprics, convents, and monasteries which have hitherto had estates, shall be divided into three classes, and we have likewise clearly specified in this regulation, as well for them as the churches in the country, cathedral and parish churches, which have had hitherto no fixed revenues or estates, how much each is yearly to receive from the College of Œconomy, and how many belong to each class according to the old computation.

3. As several archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, and abbots have of late been installed contrary to their seniority and the above regulation, we do hereby order that in the first two classes shall be considered the archbishops and archimandrites, and in the third the bishops and abbots.

[1] By this scheme Catherine carried out what had in the first instance been conceived by her husband. See Levesque, *Histoire de Russie*, v., p. 291. The German edition of the whole ukaz was printed February 29, 1764 (O.S.).

4. The Archbishop of Novgorod shall have, as has been customary, a bishop for vicar, who shall reside at Olonez, and the Archbishop of Moscow's at Sevsk; and that these vicars, as well as all bishops, convents, monasteries, &c., shall have a fixed income, which they shall, receive from the College of Œconomy, and be no longer embarrassed with the administration of their estates; and, that the bishops may not be deprived of the enjoyment of their former advantages, we have ordered that they shall remain in possession of their dwelling-houses, land for hay and cattle, &c., and everything that may contribute to their ease and conveniency.

5. The miserable condition of the secular priests and queristers all over the Empire being known to everyone, it requires our particular attention to erect good schools in all dioceses, and pave the way not only that the priests may for the future be better able to perform their functions, and instruct the common people in the wholesome doctrine, but lead an exemplary life, according to the prescriptions of the holy religion which is the source of all morality; though we have not as yet been able to compleat this desired object, yet we hope to be able to do it in a short time. In the meanwhile we exempt the secular priests from those taxes they have hitherto paid, and which were formerly introduced by the patriarchs to their great prejudice. We likewise free the convents and churches from the contributions of corn for the support of the seminaries; when the schools are erected, a considerable sum of money shall be paid per annum by the College of Œconomy for their maintenance.

6. In this regulation we have assigned a certain sum for the repairing of the churches, and likewise made provision for all those belonging to them, and for the maintenance of all foreign priests who, upon account of their religion, or for want of a necessary subsistence, have been obliged to take refuge in our Empire, and that embrace our religion. We have likewise made a particular regulation with regard to the Synod and their office at Moscow, and stipulated the sum the members are yearly to receive from the College of Œconomy, and have taken care of the patriarchal Synod.

7. Having assigned very considerable sums for the clergy, there remains still a thing to be done, which requires our most serious attention, and which our predecessors attempted, but never carried into execution: that is, that part of those estates which have been left by religious people to the Church shall be employed for the support

and maintenance of poor old decrepit people, for those who have fought for their country and religion, and have been wounded in the Army and Navy. We have likewise ordered that the sum of 250,000 roubles shall be paid yearly by the College of Œconomy for the support and maintenance of poor officers who have been long in the service, for invalids, hospitals, alms-houses, widows, orphans, &c.

Being now come to the end of those regulations which the College of Œconomy have made in consequence of our order, and which have been carefully revised and approved of by us, we have, out of true love for the Holy Church, thought proper to add to the above revenues of the clergy the sum of 40,000 roubles, which shall be received every year from the College of Œconomy, and divided equally amongst the bishoprics, convents, monasteries, churches, and invalids.

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Errata.

Vol. i. 58, *for* 'Milganow' *read* 'Wilganow'
,, ii. 7, line 3, *for* 'voulour' *read* 'vouloir'
„ ii. 120, *for* 'The Same to the Same' *read* 'The Same to the Earl of Sandwich
„ ii. 133, last line, *for* 'Imperial' *read* 'Prussian'
„ ii. 160, line 14, *for* 'Empress Catherine' *read* 'Empress Elizabeth

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